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EDWARD ALLDE AS A TYPICAL TRADE PRINTER

By R. B. McKERROW¹



IT is, I think, generally recognized that the printers of the Elizabethan period may be divided into two groups, according as they themselves published and sold the bulk of the work they printed—the so-called printer-publishers, or printed mainly or entirely for others—the so-called trade printers. The two groups cannot, it is true, be sharply differentiated, for a number of men combined both kinds of business, doing a certain amount of publishing on their own account and occupying their press between whiles by printing for others; but nevertheless the distinction is in the main a perfectly sound one. For example, John Day, Richard Tottel, and Christopher Barker seem never to have printed for any one else; Bynneman and John Wolfe very seldom; while on the other hand some men, such as Henry Middleton, Arnold Hatfield, John Windet, and Humphrey Lownes, printed almost entirely for others and perhaps never dealt directly with the public, or at any rate never kept anything of the nature of a bookseller's shop. Their trade was in fact very much the same as that of most printers of the present day.

Naturally enough, almost all the work that is good from the typographical point of view was executed in the houses of the

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printer-publishers. The fact that these could afford the outlay and risk incidental to publishing implies a certain amount of capital. They were thus in a position to spend time and trouble in the improvement of methods of production and in beautifying their books, and in their case such expenditure would be worth while, for they would themselves reap the benefit of increased sales. The result has been that it is these printer-publishers who have attracted the greatest amount of attention in modern times—so far at least as any printer later than 1550 has been studied at all—while little or no work has been done on the trade printers. And yet from some points of view these latter are the more important. While many of the larger volumes of history, law, divinity, and the like came from the presses of the publisher-printers, the great bulk of the popular literature seems to have been financed by the booksellers and printed for them by the trade printers. For example, there are some forty-five Shakespearian quartos dating from before the First Folio. All except three of these are stated to have been printed *for* some one or other—that is to say, they were the work of trade printers. Of these three, two are 1619 piracies, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the other being the first and very imperfect quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* 'Printed by John Danter', a man who was indeed both printer and publisher, but, if we may judge from the *Parnassus Plays*, of the less reputable sort.

And as with Shakespeare, so with almost all the other dramatic writers and poets. A very large proportion of the play-quartos, the smaller volumes of verse, the prose-pamphlets, and the popular literature in general was printed by these trade printers, many of whom, it may be said, give a great deal of trouble by their casualness in the matter of imprints and dates.

It therefore seemed that it might be worth while to take one of the trade printers and to attempt an examination of his work on the chance of something useful coming to light. There are

several besides Allde who call for study, such as John Windet, Richard Bradock, Ralph Blower, and the rather mysterious persons Robert Raworth and John Monger, who bought Islip's business in 1606 and were almost at once suppressed, but who, nevertheless, are said to have continued to print. I strongly suspect that a comparatively small amount of work devoted to such minor people as these would help us very greatly in identifying the house of origin of many books which bear no printer's name.

I chose Edward Allde not because of his importance but because he seemed to me to be an average sort of person ; just a typical commercial man with no pretensions to be anything else. He was never particularly prominent in the trade, in spite of his long connexion with it. The only honour which befell him—if indeed it was an honour—was to represent, with others, the Stationers' Company at the Lord Mayor's Banquet in 1611, 1616, and 1624. On the other hand, he was not, on the whole, by any means a disorderly person. He did indeed get into trouble in 1597 when certain materials used in printing 'a popishe Confession' were found at his house and he was in consequence forbidden to print by order of the Company, but the suspension was evidently quite short, and his output of books for the year in question does not seem to have suffered greatly, though for a few years after this date his recognized production was on a somewhat smaller scale. In 1600 he was fined 5s. for his share in printing a disorderly ballad of the Wife of Bath and was apparently also condemned to imprisonment for the same offence, but a note states 'And ther Imprisonment is respited till another tyme'. In 1602 he was fined 6s. 8d. for printing a book without entrance, and there are records of one or two other minor offences as well as of complaints brought against him by other members of the Company. But troubles of this kind happened to most of the printers of the time, and they do not suggest any great moral obliquity.

Beyond what we can gather from his books and from the records of the Stationers' Company there is, so far as I know, not a fragment of external information about Allde. We have not even any of those scraps of useless personal detail which we have about several of the other printers of the period—no one seems even to have charged him with piracy. He seems to have been simply a fairly competent commercial printer, who having inherited a small but sound business from his father, gradually enlarged it, worked it for nearly fifty years, and, dying, left it to his widow.

What, then, apart from his being such an average sort of person, are the special reasons which seem to make it worth while to investigate him? In the first place he appears to have had the bad habit of frequently omitting his name from his productions. A large number of books, at least sixty-three, have already been identified as coming from his press, by the ornaments, initial letters, &c., which are used in them, and I suspect that there are a good many more still waiting identification. It seemed that it might be useful to collect and reproduce as many as possible of the ornaments which he used in his acknowledged books.

Secondly, as his output seemed to be fairly constant throughout his career—there are at least no important breaks in it, though there are some odd fluctuations in quantity—it seemed to me that we might be able to derive from an examination of it some idea, however rough, of the average yearly output of one of the smaller Elizabethan printing-houses. For many reasons we cannot expect to get exact figures. Many books printed by him may have disappeared altogether—as we shall see later, some certainly have—and, as I have said, many more may be still unidentified. Nevertheless we may at least see what can be done in this direction.

There are two different ways in which we can consider a printer's output. We can look at it either from the point of

view of the compositors or of the pressmen, assessing it either in pages of type composed or in sheets of paper printed. To arrive directly at the number of sheets of paper printed we should require to know the size of the edition of each book, a thing at which we can only guess in the roughest way, but seeing that the work in all printing-houses was necessarily so organized that, as far as possible, both compositors and pressmen were kept fully or equally occupied, there must always have been, on the average, a fairly constant relation between the number of pages composed and the number of sheets printed; and if we know one we shall be able to infer the other with some approach to accuracy. It must be remembered that there was none of the reprinting from standing type or stereotype plates, which often so badly upsets the economics of modern printing-houses, causing at one time the composing-room, at another the machine-room, to be standing more or less idle. The number of pages composed per year will therefore afford a fair measure of the printer's whole business.

Now it is of some importance that we should have an idea of the average output of the smaller Elizabethan printers. As every one knows, during the greater part of the Elizabethan period the number of printers, or of presses—I am not certain which—was strictly limited. Thus in the Star Chamber decree of 23 June 1586 it was enacted that no new presses were to be set up until the number of existing ones was reduced, and though no doubt this regulation was not observed with absolute strictness, the returns of presses which have been preserved, from the years 1583, 1586, and 1615, show that the number was fairly constant. The figures are as follows: For 1583, 23 printers, 53 presses (including 2 not in use and 2 secret presses); for 1586, 25 printers, 53 presses; for 1615, 19 printers, 33 presses. The 1615 return, however, omits Robert Barker, the King's Printer. As this business was undoubtedly the largest of all and had had in 1586 six presses, while in 1615 it probably

had even more ; and as on the other hand the earlier lists include two or three people who were either type-founders or engravers and whose presses were presumably not used for printing books, it would, I think, be reasonable to suppose that at any rate between 1583 and 1615 there were in London never more than about 24 master printers owning a total of some 50 presses.

Now there can be no doubt, I think, that if it was necessary to restrict the number of printers and presses, the possession of a press and the permission to use it must have been a valuable asset, and that no reasonable person who enjoyed this permission would allow his press to stand idle. There would thus seem to be something very suspicious about any one claiming to be a printer and not producing a reasonable number of books—such an average number as might be expected from a printer of his class. When we find such a printer, we must, I think, either suppose that he was one of those people who printed many books without putting his name to them, in which case his ornaments, initials, &c., will need to be studied carefully, or alternatively that the books which he claims to have printed were actually only printed *for* him and he was not a printer at all. I fancy that further investigation will show that in a fair number of instances this is the true explanation. However, I need say nothing further on this point at present, beyond suggesting that the very imperfect figures of output which I shall give you for Allde should be checked as soon as possible by work on one or two other of the smaller printers.

Edward Allde's business came to him from his father, John Allde, who had been apprentice to the printer Richard Kele. This Richard Kele, on his death in 1552, left the lease of his business premises, 'the Long Shop in the Poultry under St. Mildred's Church wall', to his brother John Kele. John, though he was in business as a stationer up to 1571, does not appear to have done any printing and probably made over the

premises to John Allde either in 1555 when he took up his freedom or shortly afterwards. John Allde is not, however, known to have begun business on his own account until 1561, in the latter part of which year he took an apprentice and had several small books or ballads entered to him in the Register. The first actually dated book bearing his name seems to belong to 1562, and the first which bears the address of the Long Shop in the Poultry to 1563. From that date, however, he worked there regularly, the *S.T.C.* containing books dated in, or attributed to, every year until 1582, when he either died or retired. John Allde was, I may mention, particularly lax in dating his books, 32 out of the 58 which he is known to have printed being without a date.

The name Allde is just a little puzzling. In Kele's will it is spelt 'Aldey', and in the Stationers' Register generally 'Aldee' or 'Alldee', though occasionally with only one e. In their imprints both John and Edward spell it with one final e—Alde or Allde. From 1617 onwards, however, that is, during the last ten years or so of his life, Edward regularly spelt it with a hyphen, 'All-de'. So far as I have been able to ascertain he never spelt it thus before 1617, though Hazlitt does indeed record one book, *The Antient, True, and admirable History of Patient Grissel*, 1607, in which, according to him, this spelling appears. I have not seen the book, and as this seems at present to be untraceable, I think that we may retain an open mind about it and regard all books in which the hyphen is used as probably not before 1617. From that date, as I have said, Allde used the hyphen regularly. Not *quite* regularly, of course—or he would not have been an Elizabethan, or a printer—but *reasonably* regularly. At any rate the large majority of books printed by him after this date, and by his widow Elizabeth after him, have this hyphenated form. What led to its sudden adoption I cannot say. The purpose evidently was to lay stress on the fact that his name was disyllabic, and not

'Ald'. The only suggestion that I can make is that some confusion may possibly have arisen between him and the printer George Eld, but this is perhaps hardly a likely explanation, seeing that Eld had been printing for some thirteen years before the change was made.

'Allde' in two syllables does not sound quite like an English name, and it seems possible that the family may have been of Dutch origin.

John's son Edward was made free of the Stationers' Company 'by patronage' on 18 February 1584, and in the same year he issued two books and a broadside. One at least of these is stated to have been 'Imprinted at the long Shop adioyning vnto Saint Mildreds Church in the Pultrie'. From that time until 1588 there is evidence that Allde printed at that address, but, so far as I have been able to discover, not one of Allde's books after that date contains any statement as to where it was printed, though many give Allde's residence and some say where they are to be sold.

Whether or not Allde continued to print at the old premises in the Poultry, he had evidently ceased to reside there by 1590, in which year two of his books, *The Quintessence of Wit*, by Francesco Sansovino, and *The Safegarde of Saylers*, bear a new form of imprint, namely 'Printed by Edward Allde, dwelling without Cripplegate at the signe of the gilded Cuppe'. In his article on the Long Shop in the Poultry in *Bibliographica Plomer* described the Gilded Cup as in Fore Street, which is probably correct, though I do not know whence he derived the information. It was certainly there or thereabouts.

In 1597 we find an edition of the *Book of Cookery* 'printed by E. Allde dwelling in Aldersgate street over against the Pump' (Hazlitt, III. 47). So far as I have observed this address does not occur in any other of his books.

According to Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 508, Allde printed in 1600 *The Booke of mery Riddles*, giving as his residence 'Little

Saint Bartholomewes, neere Christ-church'. Unfortunately this book does not seem to be at present traceable, and as although Allde certainly lived at that address later, there is no other evidence of his connexion with it at this date, we may, I think, fairly suspect that something is wrong here.

In 1604 we find him dwelling in Lombard Hill, near Old Fish Street, a place at which he apparently remained until 1611, moving in that year, or possibly in 1612, to a new address 'near Christ-Church'. This, which is generally given in the fuller form 'dwelling in little Saint Bartholomew's near Christ-Church', occurs fairly frequently in his later books. It served him for the remainder of his life and, after his death, which probably occurred in 1628, for his widow Elizabeth.

There is indeed in the *Dialogues of Posselius*, printed in 1623, a statement that the books were 'printed by Edward Allde, and are to be sold by Christ-Church greater South doore', and it is perhaps possible that Allde had a shop there for the sale of his goods, for Little Saint Bartholomew's, his usual address, although in the immediate vicinity, would, I think, hardly have been thus described. Unless, however, the same thing can be found in other books, it seems much more likely to have been the address of some one for whom the book was printed, possibly the Edward Rive who translated it into English.

We must now return for a moment to the Long Shop in the Poultry. As I have said, Edward Allde printed there until 1588, and for anything I know to the contrary he may have continued to print there for many years longer, though residing elsewhere, for even in Elizabethan times a printer did not, I suppose, necessarily live over his printing-house. The shop itself had, however, perhaps been left by John Allde to his widow Margaret, for in 1601 we find a broadside entitled *A living remembrance of Master Robert Rogers* 'Imprinted at London for M. Allde, and are to be solde at her Shop vnder Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultry' (Hazlitt, I. 363), and in 1603 *A Lament-*

able Dittie composed vpon the death of Robert Lord Deuereux late Earle of Essex, also printed for her, was to be sold 'at the long shop vnder Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultry' (Hazlitt, I. 148). There seems, therefore, no reason for supposing that Margaret Alde's shop was any other than the original 'Long Shop' which had been her husband's.

Here, however, there is a little difficulty that I have not been able to clear up. In his article in *Bibliographica* Plomer stated that in 1602 Margaret Alde transferred her business to Henry Rocket, a stationer who in that year had taken up his freedom in the Company. Rocket certainly had books printed for him in 1602, 1603, and 1605 bearing the statement that they were to be sold 'at the long shop under S. Mildred's Church in the Poultry'. We have, however, seen that in 1603 Margaret Alde had a broadside printed for sale at precisely the same address, and as this and another ballad were entered in the Stationers' Register to her in that year, she was clearly still in business. What, then, was the relation between the two people?

I cannot go into the story in detail. It involves some curious changes in the form of Rocket's address in the years 1606 and 1607, which suggest that for a time—possibly after the death of Margaret Alde—Rocket was occupying other premises though still in the Poultry. In 1607, however, Alde printed two books, one, Bradford's *Godly Meditations*, bearing Alde's name alone, and the other, Gervase Markham's *English Arcadia*, being printed for Rocket. The remarkable thing is that the first of these has a colophon stating that it was to be sold 'at his [namely Alde's] shop vnder Saint Mildred's Church in the Poultrie', while the other was 'to bee solde by Henrie Rocket, at his shop vnder Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultrie' (Hazlitt, III. 154); what appears to be the same address being described in the one book as Alde's, in the other as Rocket's. This address does not seem to occur, as his, in any of Alde's later books, but Rocket continued to use it.

Unfortunately the form in which what seems to be meant for the same address is given continually varies. Sometimes it is 'the long shop' and sometimes not; it may be 'under' or 'adjoining unto' St. Mildred's Church, and at times it seems to be 'under the Dial'. There was certainly more than one shop near the church, for from 1579 to 1590 the address of the bookseller William Wright was 'In the Poultry, the middle shop in the row, adjoining to St. Mildred's Church'. On the whole, however, the probability seems to be, that the shops occupied by Margaret and Edward Alde and by Henry Rocket (save possibly in 1606-7) were one and the same, and that from 1602 onwards until 1607, with perhaps the short interval mentioned above, Rocket was trading there under some sort of arrangement with the Alde family. From 1607 onwards the shop may have passed into the hands of Rocket alone, or if the premises contained both a printing-house and a shop for the sale of books, Rocket may have taken over only the shop and Alde continued to have his press there. I have come across no evidence which would enable us to settle the point, which is indeed not of any great importance.

We may now consider the nature of Edward Alde's business. In the first seven years, 1584-90, this business was evidently quite a small one, and was that of a printer-publisher rather than of a regular printer for the trade. In these seven years Alde printed some 29 books, an average of hardly more than 4 per year, and of these, 22 bore his name alone, 6 being for other booksellers (the full imprint of one is not known to me). This is in striking contrast with what seems to have been his busiest period of seven years, 1604-10, when he printed 95 books, of which only 14 were for himself and as many as 80 were for others (again there are doubts as to the imprint of one of the books). Between these two periods he had evidently perceived the advantage of working as a trade printer for other men, and of getting, we may suppose, immediate payment for

his work—even though at a lower rate of profit—rather than taking the risks of publication. The change over in the nature of his business seems indeed to have occurred in or soon after 1591, for from that date onwards there are only some four or five years—and those generally years of small known output—in which his work for others does not greatly exceed the books which bore his name alone. Taking his career as a whole, the books at present traced to his press amount to some 368, of which 63 are attributed to him on the grounds of the printing material used in them, ornaments and initial letters, but do not bear his name. Of his whole known output, a trifle more than two-thirds was printed for sale by some other bookseller, the other third either bearing his name alone or in a very few cases no name at all.

And here, by the way, I should like to say that all figures given in this paper are to be regarded as incorrect. I hope that they are more or less *near* to the truth, but the only thing certain about them is that they are not and cannot be exactly right. Allde's books are almost all exceedingly scarce. I do not know any considerable printer of his time examples of whose work seem to be so difficult to obtain at a moderate price—probably a result of the popular and ephemeral nature of a great part of his output. Many books printed by him are only known from single copies. Some which he entered in the Stationers' Register and probably printed are not now known to exist, and of others editions have certainly vanished. My figures of Allde's output are based on the *Short Title Catalogue*, supplemented by some very valuable notes given me by Mr. Ferguson of Allde books which he has seen, and by notes taken from Collier, Hazlitt, and others of books the whereabouts of which is not now known. I have little doubt that it would be possible, could one spare the time, to add an appreciable number of books which at one time or another have been recorded as bearing Allde's name, and a much larger number which were

certainly printed by him though his name does not appear. But it was not part of my intention to compile a bibliography of Allde's work, even had I the time to attempt any such thing.

Looked at from what I may call the publisher's point of view, the books which either bear Allde's name alone, or, bearing no name of printer or publisher, are attributable to his press, that is to say, those books which he did not print for any other bookseller, may be divided into two groups of very different character. There is first the larger group of books which have the appearance of profitable speculations, popular best-sellers in fact, or what we can well suppose he meant to be best-sellers, such things as news-pamphlets, giving accounts of murders, witches, and the like, plays, gardening and cookery books, and pamphlets such as those of Samuel Rowlands and John Taylor, not forgetting certain popular works of devotion. To these we will refer presently. Secondly there is a smaller, but still considerable, group of books which, I think, we can only suppose to have been printed by Allde on commission for their authors and at the expense of the latter. In some cases we can be sure that this was so, for it is made clear in the book itself, but there are many others of which the same thing is almost certainly true.

For example, there is a medical treatise of William Clowes on the cure of struma, the King's Evil, printed by Allde in 1602 with a colophon stating that it was to be sold at Master Laybourn's, a Barber Surgeon near Billingsgate. I have no doubt that Laybourn commissioned Allde to print the book for professional purposes. There is a little tract by one Thomas Proctor, printed in 1607, entitled *A worthy worke profitable to this whole kingdome. Concerning the mending of all high-waies, as also for waters and iron workes*, in which I cannot but suspect the enthusiasm of the author rather than of the publisher. Evidently, indeed, it failed to sell, for the sheets were reissued with a new title in 1610. There is a pamphlet entitled *London*

Triacle, Being the enemie to all infectious diseases; as may appeare by the discourse following, 1612 and a new edition in 1615, which seems to be nothing else but an elaborate advertisement of a particular 'Triacle' sold by one William Besse in the Poultry at the price of 2s. 8d. a pound or 2d. an ounce. There is a prayer to be said at Christ's Hospital which Allde printed in 1614 when he was living in that neighbourhood; and there is the curious and interesting little book entitled *Seabrookes Caveat, or his Warning piece to all his . . . Countrymen, to beware how they meddle with the Eyes*, 1620, a strange medley of excellent common sense and medieval remedies written by an oculist of King's Lynn, who tells us that he is now 72 years of age and has been in practice since his youth. This book has, I think, every sign of having been printed for its author, including as it does a conspicuous notice of his address facing the table of contents. And besides such things as these there are a certain number of technical and Latin treatises, the sale of which we can hardly suppose to have been sufficiently rapid to make them worthy of a bookseller's attention. Such are the tract *De fide*, by E. H., 1592, an answer to Peter Baro's tract of the same name; *A copie of the Speache made by the Mathematicall Lecturer [T. Hood] at the house of M. T. Smith*, 4 nov. 1588; John Dickenson's *Deorum concessus*, 1591; Thomas Rawlin's *Admonitio pseudo-chymici*, c. 1610; John Maxwell's *Carolanna*, 1619. I will pass over several other volumes which seem equally unlikely as the speculations of a publisher of popular literature and mention only the important group of text-books of the mathematical teacher John Speidell, dating from 1616 to 1628. One of these, *A Geometricall Extraction, or a Compendious Collection of the Chiefe and Choyse Problemes, Collected out of the best, and latest Writers*, is definitely stated to have been 'Printed by Edward Allde, and are to be solde at the Authors house in the fields betweene Princes streete and the Cockpit, 1616', while in others similar informa-

tion is given, and those desirous of learning mathematics are advised to repair to the author's house, where they can be instructed 'in the best and briefest ways'. Speidell's works must have been a valuable property—one, the *New Logarithms* of 1619, reached a sixth impression by 1624—and it is possible of course that Allde financed some of them, but I cannot help thinking that they are far more likely to have been Speidell's own speculation and that Allde merely printed them for him. Possibly also the *Dialogues of Posselius*, to which I have previously referred, belongs to this class of book printed to order.

It is worth noting that none of the books which I have mentioned, except two of Speidell's and the *Dialogues of Posselius*, seem to have been entered in the Stationers' Register, a fact which possibly indicates that Allde did not feel himself concerned with the copyright of them. On the other hand, the omission may have been due merely to carelessness.

It is indeed quite possible that a larger part of Allde's printing than is now apparent may have been work of this sort, commissioned by authors who desired to put something before the public that would hardly be saleable in the ordinary way. In the absence of libraries on which they could be planted by force, such private ventures would tend to become almost as scarce as books of the most popular kind, not because they were thumbed to pieces, but because very few copies would ever get out into the world at all and the bulk of the edition would finally be scrapped. Of most of the books just mentioned only one or two copies seem to be known. Many which would have fallen within the same class may well have perished altogether.

Apart from the books which we may suppose to have been printed on commission for their authors, those which bear Allde's name alone are for the most part of a popular kind, such as were likely to give a good and quick return to their publisher. These were partly ephemeral productions, such as news-pamphlets and the like, and partly longer and more solid

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works for which there seems to have been a good demand. These included Thomas Hill's book on the *Art of Gardening* which, having been repeatedly printed from 1563 onwards, was re-entered to Orwin in 1591 and appears with Allde's name alone in 1593 and in 1608, when the second part was printed by Ballard; and the *Safeguard of Sailors*, an important work of practical navigation which was printed by Allde in 1587, 1590 [in 1600 by Islip], and 'newly corrected' by Allde in 1605 and 1612.

There are also the two volumes of *Homelies* which Allde printed in 1595. The second of these, containing 304 leaves in quarto, was Allde's largest single piece of work. He seems to have been allowed to print these volumes by some special arrangement, for they would surely be normally the copyright of the Royal Printer. The entry of the book to him in the Stationers' Register (*S.R.*, ii. 659) authorizes him to print only one impression and requires him to allow 6*d.* in the pound to the use of the poor.

Another of Allde's most profitable books may have been the *Book of Cookery*, by W. A., of which the earliest known edition, described as 'now newly enlarged', was printed by John Allde in 1584. There existed editions printed by Edward Allde in 1587, 1591, and 1594, and seeing that only a single copy of each of these is recorded in the *S.T.C.* it is quite likely that there may have been other editions which have perished.

Allde may possibly have made even more out of his rights in certain devotional works by John Bradford. His *Godly meditations upon the Lords prayer, the Beliefe and ten commandments*, which had been the copyright of John Allde, was printed by Edward in 1597, 1602, 1604, 1607, 1614, and 1622, and by Elizabeth Allde in 1633.

The books which have been mentioned were either of some size or were frequently printed. Allde, however, also produced a number of small ephemeral publications which while indi-

vidually bringing in less must in the mass have been an important source of income. There were, for example, certain plays and pageants, such as Peele's *Device of the pageant borne before Woolstone Dixi*, 1585, Preston's *Cambises*, c. 1585, Fulwell's *Like will to Like*, 1587, and Daniel's *Royall Masque*, 1604. Further, there were some pieces of popular literature such as *The Booke of mery Riddles*, 1600 [?], Rowlands's *Guy of Warwick*, 1609, and Anthony Copley's *Wits, fittes and fancies*, a reprint of 1614. There is, by the way, a little problem about this last book. There appear to be two editions by Allde, both dated 1614 but differing throughout except in the first two leaves. As, however, the previous edition had been, so far as there is any record, as long before as 1596, it can hardly be supposed that two new ones were needed in 1614. It may be suspected that one of these editions represents simply the using up of sheets of an earlier one.

From 1612 onwards Allde printed a number of John Taylor's tracts, some for the bookseller Henry Gosson, others apparently for himself.

Other small tracts which Allde seems to have printed for himself include two or three books by Anthony Nixon, *The dignitie of man*, 1612 (and probably 1616), *A straunge foot-post*, 1613, *A mery jest of the frier and the boy*, 1617, and *The historie of Frier Rush*, 1620; to which may be added a number of news-pamphlets, such as *The apprehension and confession of three notorious witches at Chelmsford*, 5 July, 1589. *True news concerning the winning of . . . Corbeyll by the French King*, 1590. *The honourable victorie obtained by Grave Maurice* [1597]. *A Prayer for the . . . Earle of Essex in Ireland*, by John Norden, 1599. *A true relation of Gods wonderfull mercies in preserving one [J. Johnson] alive which hanged five days* [1605?]. *The King of Denmarkes welcome*, 1606. *News from Perin [or Penryn] in Cornwall: of a murder*, 1618. *The lamentable burning of the cittie of Cork*, 1622, and so on.

None of these bear any name of a bookseller and we must, I think, suppose that they were Alde's own speculations.

But, as I have said, the great majority of Alde's output, some two-thirds of the whole number of titles—and a good deal more than two-thirds if we count the number of leaves, for a large proportion of Alde's own books was merely pamphlets or broadsides—was done for other publishers.

Alde seems to have printed for some 86 different booksellers, for some 55 of which he only produced a single book. There were, however, five or six with whom at one time or another he seems to have been particularly closely associated. By far the most important of these associations was with Edward White senior and junior, whose dates are given as 1577-1612 and 1605-24. With these two Alde was associated throughout almost his whole working life, printing in all more than fifty books for them from 1587 to 1621, about which date Edward White junior probably died. Mistress White, who may have been either his widow or his mother, assigned her property in a number of books to E. Alde on 29 June 1624 (*S. R.*, iv. 120).

Other men with whom Alde was especially associated were the two nautical booksellers, Hugh Astley and John Tapp. Hugh Astley, bookseller, 1588-1609, carried on a business in nautical books at St. Magnus Corner (Thames Street, near London Bridge), and from 1592 to 1596 Alde printed six books for him, all dealing with nautical matters. John Tapp, originally a member of the Drapers' Company, having begun by re-editing Richard Eden's *Art of Navigation*, in 1596, printed by Alde and sold by Hugh Astley, transferred in 1600 to the Stationers' Company and, it would seem, started to sell his own works, for in 1602 he produced the *Seamans Kalender*, which was printed by Alde for John Tapp, and to be sold at his shop in Tower Hill. This last was several times reprinted and the association with Alde continued, for Alde printed for him in all eighteen books,

both before and after he had succeeded Hugh Astley at his premises at St. Magnus Corner.

In the later part of his life, from 1608 onwards, Allde printed some nineteen books, mainly the writings of John Taylor, the water poet, for Henry Gosson, but these were mostly small and do not form any important part of his output.

Others for whom he printed six books or more were William Ferbrand (12), Nicholas Ling (6), Nathaniel Fosbrook (8), Nathaniel Butter (9), Thomas Archer (12), and Nicholas Bourne (6), five of those for Archer and Bourne belonging to the year 1622 when the two of them seem to have been trying to run a regular news-intelligencer.

In 1604-5 Allde printed three almanacs for the Company of Stationers. It is, I think, probable that other almanacs dating from about the same period were also from his press, but the workmanship of these books has often so little that is characteristic of a particular house that identification is difficult.

Of the other booksellers for whom Allde printed it need only be said that they include a very large proportion of those who were dealing at the time in the more popular literature.

Now I confess that I began this paper with the hope of being able to put before you some fairly close estimate of the yearly production of Allde's press. I had indeed visions of some sort of graph such as is to be found in Mr. Madan's book on the Oxford Press, but the difficulties proved to be much greater than I had anticipated. In almost every year there are books the collation of which I have not, with the time at my disposal, been able to ascertain, and even when it is possible to guess at the size of these with some approach to accuracy, we have still to reckon with that part of Allde's output which waits identification. It may, however, be worth while to give such figures as I can, on the understanding that they are not intended as more than quite rough approximations.

I have taken the quarto page as the standard and have counted a page in octavo as half, and one in duodecimo as one-third of this. Broad-sides I have taken as equivalent to four quarto pages.

On this basis the identified output of Allde's second year of printing (1585) amounts to 160 quarto pages (five books). In 1587 the quantity had risen to 484 pages, in 1590 to somewhere about 560, and in 1592 to about 680 (nine books).

The following year, 1593, is remarkable in that Allde is only known to have printed a single book, Hill's *Profitable Arte of Gardening*, 280 pages in 4to, but of course there may have been other anonymous work belonging to this year; and although six books are assignable to the year which followed, their equivalent in quarto pages is only 304. Perhaps, however, part of this year's production was held over until the following year, 1595, when Allde's two books of *Homilies* together amount to 800 pages and with other publications give a total of some 1,150 pages, a number which he does not seem again to have reached for another ten years. In 1596 production is still high with 1,026 pages; from this, however, the number falls off rapidly until 1601 in which he only produced a single book of 48 pages—so far at least as is known—his output in this year reaching its lowest point. From 1602, it rises again to 1,108 pages in 1605 and 1,636 pages in 1607, his maximum.

I do not propose to give you the figures year by year for the rest of Allde's business life. This would be unnecessarily tedious, and besides I have not been able to work them out to my satisfaction. In almost every year there are queries of one sort or another. In general, however, I may say that such information as I have been able to collect seems to suggest an output in the neighbourhood of 800 quarto pages per annum from 1608 up till about 1618, with a gradually diminishing production during the ten years which followed, when, though Allde continued to print a fair number of books, there was a high proportion of very thin ones among them.

Omitting these last ten years of Allde's career, I find in twenty-eight years, for which I have figures which seem to me likely to be not too wildly wrong, a total of 17,550 quarto pages, giving an average of 627 pages per year. This figure includes several years in which his production seems to be abnormally small, indicating, I think, either that for some reason or another his business was temporarily interrupted or that a large part of the work of those years has disappeared without leaving any trace. The latter is perhaps the more probable explanation. We know indeed of editions of certain books of which no copies are now traceable. Thus, take Tapp's *Seamans Kalender* which first appeared in 1602. Three other editions are known, the third in 1608, the fifth in 1615, and the ninth in 1625. Here, then, are five editions of a 4to book of 92 pages, all probably printed by Allde, which have completely disappeared. So also we may suspect lost editions of Bradford's *Godly Meditations*, and of the *Safeguard of Sailors*, and perhaps of other books which were Allde's copyrights and were obviously popular. In these other cases, however, the existing editions are not numbered and we have therefore no clear indication of how many are lost. It would of course only take the addition of a few lost editions of books of this kind to the apparently lean years of Allde's output to bring them up to the average.

As I have just said, the known production of twenty-eight years between 1584 and 1618 averages 627 pages per year, while that of the years 1608-18, when his business was fully established and he was still in middle age, seems to have been in the neighbourhood of 800 pages. Allowing for a reasonable number of lost and unidentified books, we might, I think, assume an average for Allde's whole career, except the first few years and the last few, of 800 pages, rising to 1,000 or 1,200 at his best period round about the years 1605-10.

Would this be a reasonable amount of composition to come

from a small press? If we assume that the functions of compositor and pressman were never combined in one person, as perhaps we may at the time with which we are dealing, then no press could well have had less than one whole-time compositor, or, to put it somewhat differently, if the press were to be economically run, its output must have been not less than the amount of work which could be done by a single compositor.

If, further, we are entitled to assume that a normal book, other than a reprint, was commonly set up by a single compositor or by two working alternately but not simultaneously, the rate at which a book could be put through the press is the rate at which one compositor could compose. It happens that we have information as to the rate at which at least three books passed through the press in the early or middle seventeenth century. The evidence shows a curious agreement and all points to one sheet a day as a maximum but not unreasonable rate. The extract from Sir Thomas Urquhart's odd book entitled *Εκκυβαλαυρον* of 1652, printed by Mr. Percy Simpson in a recent part of the *Transactions* of the Oxford Bibliographical Society, suggests that a good rate of composition for an expert compositor was one sheet a day. From a paper by Mr. G. W. Wheeler in the same volume of *Transactions* it appears that the 1604-5 *Catalogue* of the Bodleian Library was also composed and printed at the rate of one sheet a day. In both cases, however, there seems to have been some especial haste, so we must evidently regard this as the upward limit of ordinary work rather than as an average rate of production. Lastly we are informed that the composition of Isaac Casaubon's *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes*, 1614, was at the rate of one sheet (four folio pages) per day (Pattison's *Casaubon*, p. 386). This at least was Casaubon's reckoning at an early stage of the printing: actually it did not proceed quite so quickly, though it appears that there may have been other causes of delay besides the rate of composition.

If, then, particular books, set up, we may suppose, by a single compositor, or by two compositors working alternately but not simultaneously, could be set up, under pressure, at the rate of one sheet (eight quarto pages) per day, it seems to follow that the rate of composition in the smallest printing-house when fully occupied might approximate to 2,000-2,400 quarto pages in a year of 300 working days, an amount well in excess of Allde's known output in any one year. This suggests that the books which have come down to us, or that have been identified as Allde's, do not represent the whole of his production.

But for a printing business to be carried on economically there must be a definite correspondence between the rate of composition and the output of the machine-room. In *The Library*, 2nd series, vii. 43, an opinion of Mr. C. T. Jacobi is quoted to the effect that the old wooden presses, with two men to each, could turn out about 1,000 sheets per day, printed on one side, equivalent to 500 perfected sheets. If this applied to Allde's pressmen, and if the average number of copies of a book printed was 1,000, one compositor could, working hard, have kept two presses, each with a pair of pressmen, busy. But if I interpret correctly Moxon's figures in his *Mechanick Exercises* of 1683—and I am not sure that I do interpret them correctly, for Moxon is by no means a lucid writer—Mr. Jacobi greatly underestimates the rate of machining. According to Moxon, what he calls a 'token' of paper was an hour's work for the press, and we find elsewhere in his book that a token for 'half a press', namely a press worked by a single workman, was 5 quires, or for a whole press (two workmen) 10 quires. Now if two pressmen could work 10 quires (half a ream) per hour, they could work 4 reams per day of eight hours. This of course was working the sheets on one side only, and is therefore equivalent to 1,000 perfected sheets per day, exactly double Mr. Jacobi's figures. I think, however, that Moxon was only considering the time actually taken in pulling the impressions,

whereas the pressmen had many incidental tasks which would occupy a large portion of their time ; there was not only the actual making-ready of the forme, but often adjustments to the press, besides the preparation of the tympan, frisket, and of the ink, and the washing down of the type after use, while it would seem, from what Moxon says, that they might even be called on to remove the forme which was being worked in order to print proofs—though in his own day many printing-houses had a separate press for proofing. All these jobs would cut so much into their time that possibly Mr. Jacobi's 500 impressions for a day's work may not be so much below the mark as would appear.

In the later part of his career Allde had two presses. The output of these, each worked by a pair of men, would be on the lower estimate 1,000 sheets a day. If this represented the average number of copies in the impression, it obviously calls for an average composition rate of one sheet, or eight quarto pages, a day, say, 2,400 a year. This is considerably more than double what we have taken as Allde's average rate of composition, namely 800–1,000 pages a year. Here again, therefore, we seem to have evidence that Allde's business, assuming it to be economically run, should have had a much greater output than we can now assign to it. We may perhaps suppose either :

(1) That Allde's books were much more numerous than we are aware of, i.e. that a great part of his work is unidentified or lost ; or

(2) That though Allde had two presses he did not keep them nearly fully occupied. He might of course possibly have used one as a proof press ; or, lastly,

(3) He may have done a good deal of printing that was not book-printing at all. Seeing how well recognized was the custom of pasting-up advertisements on certain so-called posts, it is surely to be assumed that a number of various announcements would be printed. Then, too, there were programmes of

various events, descriptions of ceremonial processions, funerals, &c., announcements of lotteries, lottery-tickets, and perhaps price-lists like the list of binding-prices in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. Indeed there must have been a large amount of printing done which was not book-printing, and of which only a minute proportion would survive, but which must have given a good deal of work to the smaller trade printers.¹ So perhaps there is not after all so great an inconsistency between Allde's possession of two presses and the number of book-pages which his composing-room seems to have turned out as we might at first suppose.

Let us now turn for a moment to the financial side of the matter. Neglecting all possible printing of other things than books, at the existence of which we can only guess and of which we really know nothing at all, what, on the assumption that he produced 800 pages in quarto yearly, would he make out of his business? Frankly, it is rather absurd even to attempt to answer—we know far too little of the conditions of the time. But it seems to be generally agreed that for the early part of the seventeenth century it is not unreasonable to take the average price of new books, unbound or simply stitched, to the public, as 1*d.* per sheet, and to take 1,000 as representing an average edition. Popular books were likely to be printed in larger numbers, 1,250 or 1,500 to the edition, but books of a heavier kind might well run to only 500. Two-thirds of Allde's books were printed for the booksellers; all of these would

¹ In the Court Book of the Stationers' Company we find under date 29 October 1595 a complaint of Thomas Purfoot against Allde 'for printing of breues aperteyninge to the seid Thomas'. It was agreed that he should desist from printing 'any breve or breves of letters patentes' belonging to Purfoot, and that he should not print 'other brieues as for starch or otherwise' not belonging to Purfoot without their first being entered and allowed to him. I confess that I am not very clear what these 'breves' were, or the amount of business that they represented, but it is evident that Purfoot's rights in them were of value or he would hardly have troubled to bring a complaint.

naturally be taken off his hands at once. Suppose that of the remaining third—his own publications—he also sold all that he printed, not of course immediately but in a few years, so that the average *sale* was at the same rate as the average production. This of course is not likely to be strictly true; he must occasionally have made a bad speculation and found himself with a book that was unsaleable, but to judge from the sort of books that he published for himself and what we can infer as to the conditions of the Elizabethan trade in books, I doubt whether these few exceptions would be worth taking into account. If we ignore them, his 1,000 copies of 800 quarto pages would sell to the public at 1,000 times 100 pence, i.e. 100,000*d.* or £416 13*s.* 4*d.* Of course this would not be all profit. There are the whole of his expenses in paper, type, wages of his workmen, and so on, and on two-thirds of the output there is also the profit of the booksellers for whom the books were printed. But assuming that Allde sold a good proportion of the remaining third to the public at their full price and he himself worked in the business, as he presumably did, it seems not extravagant to assume that he would get for himself something like 20 per cent. of what the public paid for his output—though I admit that this is a mere guess and that I should be sorry to be called upon to justify it. If, however, it is correct, Allde's 800 pages per annum would give him £83 6*s.* 8*d.* Multiplying this by 6 to give the 1914 equivalent, or by 10 to give a present-day figure, we arrive at £500 or £833 6*s.* 8*d.* respectively—not indeed princely, but, I think, not unreasonable for one of the smaller printers of the time, and of course we have taken no account whatever of any income derived from the printing of other things than books.

I ought perhaps to apologize for the somewhat speculative character of the last few pages, which are indeed hardly based on the firm foundation which we have a right to expect in bibliographical work; but it is, I think, useful at times to

attempt a more general view of a subject than the evidence strictly warrants. Such a view may enable us to see how far the *a priori* conception which we have formed of what is likely to happen is contradicted by the extant evidence on particular points, and at the same time may bring into greater prominence those points on which further evidence is needed. We may now pass to the more matter-of-fact question of Allde's printing material.

Allde's types. Of Allde's types there is little to say. He had a normal range of black-letter, roman, and italic of the faces used by most of the smaller printers of his time. So far at least as I have observed, there is nothing in the types used which serve to distinguish Allde's work from that of a dozen other printers, and it seems therefore better to leave any discussion of them until the types of the period are dealt with as a whole.

Devices. In my book on *Printers' Devices* I mentioned three devices and one compartment as found in use by Allde, but of these only the compartment (No. 360), one with four armillary spheres, which was presumably cut for use in almanacs and which bears the initials E. A., has any obvious connexion with him. It was used from 1607 to 1609. Of the other three, one, a fleur-de-lis with *In Domino confido* (No. 270), had formerly been Waldegrave's and had passed to Allde in 1603 or 1604 (cf. below under Ornaments, Nos. 9 and 13). It was used, but only occasionally, by him and by his widow Elizabeth after him. The second, a griffin segreant (No. 284), had apparently belonged to Thomas Gubbin, who traded at the sign of the Griffin, and passed to Allde in 1598-1600. The third (No. 290) and a fourth (No. 343), the ownership of which I had been unable to determine, were probably cut for J. Harrison, for one of them bears his rebus of a hare, a sheaf of rye (?), and the sun, while the other, of similar design, still has the sun, though the ovals which should contain the other portions of the rebus are empty. I have found neither of these in use by Harrison,

but both were, I think, undoubtedly owned by Allde during practically the whole of his career. No. 290 was used by him from 1592 and by his widow after him, while No. 343 is found in 1594 in *The Wars of Cyrus*, printed by E. A. for W. Blackwal, as well as in *Grimellos fortunes*, 1604, and J. D. B.'s *Eclogue ou chant pastoral*, 1627, which have no printer's name but contain evidence of coming from Allde's press.

Ornaments. The ornaments used by Allde are a miscellaneous collection of little merit or interest except as a means of identifying the output of his press; and, unfortunately, even for this purpose they are not all that could be desired in view of the doubt whether several of them are woodcut or metal.

Those which are here reproduced include, I think, all of which Allde made frequent use. There are, however, many of his books which I have not seen, and it is probable that a few other ornaments are to be found in these. For the same reason it must not be assumed that the dates which I have given to the various blocks accurately represent the time during which they were in his possession. The notes which follow are to be regarded as very rough. I have made no attempt to trace the ultimate source or to work out a complete history of the blocks, a thing which indeed could only be economically and effectively done as part of a study of the ornaments of the period as a whole. For convenience I give first the ornaments which he used in a number of books and which may be regarded as his regular stock. They fall into three groups according to the dates when they appear to have come into his possession. The earliest group may possibly have been part of his father's printing material, as were certainly some of the initial letters which he used, but such books of John Allde as I have seen contain no ornaments whatever.

The earliest ornament that I have found in Edward Allde's work is the sun and cloud block, No. 1, which he had by 1591. Possibly at the same time he possessed Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

About 1604 he seems to have obtained several fresh ornaments, four of which occur in *The Wit of a Woman*, printed anonymously in 1604 but identified as Allde's by the presence of No. 4. These four, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, are all found later in work bearing Allde's name. About the same date he became possessed of two which had formerly been used by Waldegrave at Edinburgh, namely Nos. 9 and 13, as well as Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 14, all of which he had by 1605 at latest.

A little later come Nos. 15, 16, and 17 (1607), 18 (1608), and 19 (1610). After this last date he seems to have acquired nothing further for some years, but towards the end of his life we find one new one, No. 20.

At least nine of the ornaments commonly used by him are to be found later in books printed by his widow, and there seems to be no evidence of any of his ornaments passing into the possession of other printers during Allde's lifetime.

Allde's regular ornaments

- 1 (21.5 × 68 mm.). The sun rising clear of clouds in centre : cherubs at sides.

This is probably the ornament of which Allde made most frequent use and it seems not impossible that it was an attempt at a punning device having reference to Allde's name, taken as equivalent to spelt 'All-day'. It is found from 1591 and was used during the whole of his career and by his widow Elizabeth after him.

- 2 (18 × 45 mm.). Winged torso of somewhat Mongolian aspect holding ends of volutes.

Found from 1593 and still in use by Elizabeth.

- 3 (17 × 60 mm.). In centre a winged torso : two monsters' heads : two cornucopias.

Found from 1593 to 1624. By the latter date it was badly worn, and it is possible that it was then discarded.



1



2



3



4



5

Allde's ornaments 1-5

- 4 (21.5 × 72.5 mm.). In centre a winged torso rising out of a heart-shaped object. Two cherubs with rabbits: volutes with foliage.

Found from 1593 and still in use by Elizabeth. This much resembles an ornament used in Marlowe's *Edward II* printed by R. Bradock in 1598 and in the 1594 edition of the same book without printer's name but presumed to be also printed by him.

- 5 (70.5 × 84.5 mm.). Large tail-piece with lion's head in centre on dotted background: vase of fruit above.

Found from 1604 to 1617.

- 6 (20 × 92 mm.). Head-piece with satyr's head in centre, squirrels, and birds' heads.

Found from 1604 and later used by Elizabeth Allde. The break at the left end appears in all prints known to me.

- 7 (37 × 92 mm., with aperture 12 × 69 mm.). A head-compartment with two dragons above.

Found in 1604 and 1605. In the example reproduced, the only clear print found, it is used upside-down.

- 8 (37 × 57 mm.). A coarsely cut ornament with a lion's head in centre.

Found from 1604 to 1614.

- 9 (15 × 45 mm.). A strip with a blank shield in centre.

Used from 1604 and, after Allde's death, by Elizabeth. It is the upper portion of a compartment used by John Wolfe in 1597 in *The Charter of Romney Marsh*, where it had the arms of London in the shield. This compartment passed to Robert Waldegrave and was used by him in T. Cartwright's *Answer to the Preface of the Rhemish Testament*, Edinburgh, 1602, where the shield is voided as here. It was presumably brought back to London by Waldegrave in 1603 and the upper portion, if not the whole, came into Allde's possession after Waldegrave's death a few months later, as did Ornament 13, as well as Device No. 270. The lower portion of the same



6



7



8



9



10



11

Allde's ornaments 6-11



12



13



14



15



16

Allde's ornaments 12-16

v

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compartment, containing a fleur-de-lis, was used in 1632 by W. Jones and in 1640 by T. Payne. I have not found this in Allde's books, and it is possible that it passed from Waldegrave into the hands of Blower, some of whose material seems to have come into the possession of Jones.¹

- 10 (36 × 36 mm.). An ornament of lines.

Found from 1605 to 1612.

- 11 (39 × 47 mm.). A Medusa head.

Found from 1605 to 1615. A bad block which seldom gives a satisfactory impression.

- 12 (17 × 84 mm.). A head-piece of foliage with two snails at top.

Found from 1605 and later used by Elizabeth.

- 13 (16 × 69 mm.). A winged boy facing to left and holding in his right hand a wreath and in his left one end of a festoon of flowers.

Used by Allde from 1605 until, at least, 1626. This appears to be identical with the block used by Waldegrave at Edinburgh in 1590 in J. Davidson's *D. Bancroft's rashnes*, and in 1591 in King James's *Poetical Exercises*. Compare No. 9.

- 14 (36 × 93 mm., with aperture 11.5 × 69 mm.). Head-compartment with two-headed eagle at top and parrot below.

Used from 1605 to 1617.

- 15 (11 × 89 mm.). Head-piece. Two-tailed boy with outstretched arms holding ends of foliage. Half-horses at ends.

Used from 1607, and later by Elizabeth.

- 16 (27 × 98 mm.). In rule. Vase between two boys; head below: at ends rabbits and wyvern's (?).

Used in 1607 in the *Tragedy of Claudius Tiberius Nero*, which has other Allde ornaments, and until 1627.

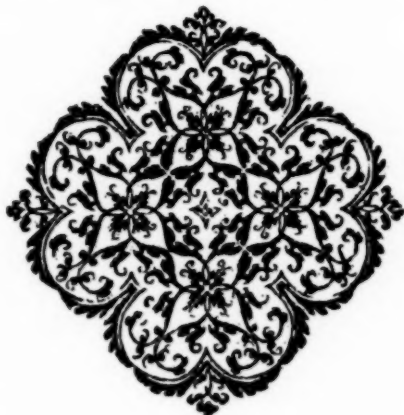
¹ Would it be fantastic to suggest that at a printer's death his ornaments may sometimes have been given to his friends as keepsakes? It seems difficult otherwise to account for the curious dispersal of ornaments which seems sometimes to have taken place even when a printer's business, with, we may presume, the bulk of his material, passed to a successor.



17



18



19



20

Allde's ornaments 17-20

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17 (37 × 48 mm.). An ornament of lines.

Used in 1607-8.

18 (14 × 90 mm.). Head-ornament. Woman's head in centre with crescent in hair, two snails, and foliage.

Used from 1608, and later by Elizabeth.

19 (62 × 60 mm., or 60 × 62 mm.). An ornament of conventional foliage.

Used from 1610 to 1614.

20 (14.5 × 91 mm.). Head-piece with winged head in centre, rather coarsely cut.

What appears to be the same block is found in use by W. White (e.g. in U. Regius, *Sermon . . . on the way to Emaus*, 1612). It seems only to occur in Allde's later work, from 1624, and was afterwards much used by his widow.

Occasional ornaments

I am doubtful whether the following were Allde's property, though they occur in books stated to have been printed by him. In some cases further investigation may perhaps show that the books in which they occur were printed for him by others.

21 (11.5 × 74 mm.). Head-piece, with a woman's head in centre and snakes striking at her. Cornucopias at ends.

Probably a cast ornament. It is found in 1590 on the title-page of *The Serpent of Division*, which bears Allde's name as printer. Similar ornaments appear in G. Chapman's *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere*, J. Windet, 1598, in the Fisher quarto of *Mids. N. Dream*, 1600, perhaps printed by R. Bradock, and in books printed by J. Legate at Cambridge in 1607, by J. Barnes at Oxford in 1613, and by J. Beale in London in 1637. In spite of the fact that certain breaks or imperfections in the design, notably small gaps in the double spiral projecting from below the left-hand cornucopia, and below the head of the right-hand serpent, seem to occur in all the prints, we can hardly suppose that they are all from the same block, and we are therefore driven to assume that we have to do with a number of blocks cast from the same, slightly defective, pattern. On the other hand, it seems not impossible that the *Serpent* was actually printed for Allde by Windet; cf. No. 22.



21



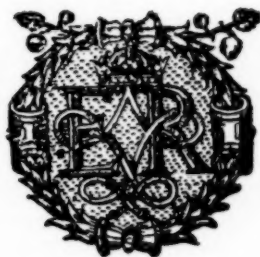
22



23



24



26



25

Ornaments occasionally found in Alde's books

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- 22 (17 × 72 mm.). Torso of a bald-headed boy grasping two human-headed quadrupeds by the tails.

Used in Sansovino's *Quintessence of Wit*, 1590, with Allde's name as printer. What appears to be the same block occurs in *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, printed by J. Windet in 1606, but a block which I cannot distinguish from these was in use by F. Kingston in 1628 and 1630. As printing material is not known to have passed from Windet to Kingston, it is possible that this, like No. 21, is a cast block. It is a close copy of a foreign ornament, which occurs, for example, in the edition of the *Mythologia* of Natalis Comes printed by S. Crispinus at Geneva in 1612.

- 23 (11 × 58 mm.). An ornament of foliage and mouldings within a rule.

I have only found this in W. Perkins, *A golden Chaine*, 1591, sig. A 3. A small portion of the top rule, shaved off in the original, has been restored.

- 24 (52 mm.). A circular ornament of conventional foliage within a triple rule.

Found on the title of T. Hill's *Ordering of Bees* (sig. Y 3 of his *Profitable Art of Gardening*, 1593). A very similar but slightly smaller (49.5 mm.) ornament occurs on the title-page of Marlowe's *Edward II*, 1594, believed on the evidence of other ornaments to have been printed by R. Bradock, and of the Fisher quarto of *Mids. N. Dream*, 1600. The cutting of that ornament is somewhat neater than that of the present one, which may therefore be a copy.

- 25 (10 × 87.5 mm.). Conventional foliage and mouldings, a ball with horns in centre.

Found in 1608 in T. Hill's *Art of Gardening*, sig. X 4.

- 26 (37 × 37 mm.). Wreath with E. R. crowned.

This must of course be an old block, but I have not traced it earlier than 1620, when it occurs on the title-page of R. Crowley's *School of Vertue* (Bagford Coll., Harl. 4910, pt. iv. 29).

- 27 (24 × 68 mm.). Head in centre. Two coats of arms. Signed G. H. (See p. 162.)

Found only in J. M[elton], *A sixe fold Politician*, 1609, sig. A 2. I have not identified the arms. They might, I think, be those of a Derbyshire family of Hardwicke, but I can find no connexion between this family and the book.

28 (23×83 mm.). The sill-piece of a compartment with, below, three faces having drapery hanging at sides. (Not illustrated.)

This compartment was used in 1553 by R. Grafton in T. Wilson's *Rule of Reason*, and in 1554 by R. Caly in T. Martin's *Treatise declaring that the marriage of priests is forbidden*, but I know nothing of its after-history until in 1614 the sill-piece was used by Allde in A. Copley's *Wits, fittes and fancies*. It was again used by him in 1626 and later by his widow.

Cuts, &c. Apart from these devices and ornaments Allde possessed a certain number of woodcuts, though none of any particular distinction. A couple of very similar cuts of a ship in full sail (see next page) are frequently used on the title-pages of his nautical books, and these also contain a number of geometrical diagrams, representations of landfalls (in the *Safeguard of Sailors*), and the like. He also possessed a few old almanac cuts, 'anatomical men' and other oddments, but so far as I have seen, not a single block of any particular merit or interest. There is indeed on the title-page of one book which he printed, the *Trigonometry* of Bartholomew Pitiscus, a really pleasing compartment of the pictorial kind, with ships at the base and men engaged in taking the altitude of the sun, heaving the lead, and in other nautical pursuits, but this, I feel sure, belonged to John Tapp, for whom the book was printed, rather than to Allde.

Initials. Many printers of the period seem to have made use of a great variety of old and worn initial blocks. Allde, however, though he possessed a few oddments for use when a special size was required, throughout the whole of his career made general use of only three alphabets. I imagine that all three of these alphabets were cast in metal and it would therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, be quite unsafe to attribute a book to Allde's press on the evidence of the initials alone. The alphabets are the following:

1. *c.* 31×30 mm. This seems to have been the earliest used



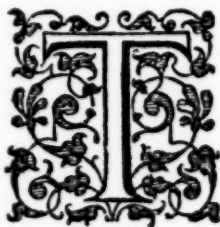
A



B

Allde's two ships

by Allde and was used by many printers of his time. Any one who compares these initials as used by Allde with the same letters in the work of other printers (e.g. in the first volume



1



4



2



3

Types of Allde's initials

of the 1587 *Holinshed*), paying attention especially to the distribution of the lines of shading, will, I think, have no doubt that they are cast from the same matrices.¹

2. c. 22 × 23 mm. in a double-rule border. Perhaps also cast, though I am not sure. This series was used by John Allde and

¹ Initials which seem undoubtedly to be from the same matrices as those in *Holinshed* may be found in the work of Field, Bynneman, and Islip, and probably of many other printers. There were, however, other sets of the same design and very similar in general appearance which were probably either woodcut copies or cast from different matrices, e.g. Newbery had a set some of which differ in having closer lines of shading while others are almost, if not quite, indistinguishable from the *Holinshed* ones.

by Edward from 1593 at least. It eventually passed to his widow, though Edward seems to have made comparatively little use of it in the later years of his life.

3. 19.5×19.5 mm. A small, neat alphabet which from its clear-cut appearance must surely have been cast, though I can offer no evidence of this. It appears in Allde's later work, and was much used by his widow after him.

The only one of Allde's miscellaneous initials which seems to demand notice is a rather elaborate A with a crowned rose and two cherubs as supporters (Fig. 4), which was used by him in 1610 and thereabouts. It evidently at one time had the initials E. R. which have been altered to I. R. This initial seems to be a copy of one which appears in the 1587 Holinshed, vol. iii, at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (p. 1170). That had *Semper Eadem* in the panel below.

Allde made use of three or four factotums of which one, 23×21.5 mm., represents two nude figures holding a wreath between them. This is within a rule and was probably a cast block, for a similar one, but without the rule, is found in use by Waldegrave at Edinburgh in 1591.



ornament 27

THE EXTENT OF LITERACY IN ENGLAND IN THE
FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES :
NOTES AND CONJECTURES

By J. W. ADAMSON¹



IN this paper the word literacy is taken in the humblest sense as merely connoting the ability to read an English book, whether printed or in manuscript. The readers, therefore, are persons who had not had the advantage of schooling as the schools of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries usually understood their business or, if they had ever gone to school, had drawn small profit from their attendance. They would be described to-day as 'uneducated' or 'imperfectly educated'.

We are so accustomed to the association of reading with writing and to regard the two arts as inseparable parts of elementary instruction, that we forget that in former times the number of readers greatly preponderated over the number of writers. When the modern English elementary school took shape, in the Charity School of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the two arts were very sharply divided, writing being treated as a stage so far in advance of reading that only a minority of the pupils would learn it. Summing formed a third stage more difficult of attainment than either of the other two. In the parochial school which William Gilpin set up in his Hampshire parish in 1791, while the boys were taught 'the three R's', the girls learned reading, knitting, and sewing. That school had many imitators; the division of its curriculum reflects in principle an age-old standard and practice in the

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society on Monday, 18 March 1929.

schooling of the two sexes. The point here emphasized is that the absence of the written word is not decisive evidence of inability to read.

In the nature of the case the untutored scrawls of imperfectly instructed men and women were not likely to survive, except as 'exhibits' preserved for a court of law or by some lucky accident such as that which led Thorold Rogers to assert 'that artisans in the fifteenth century knew how to write out an account'.¹ Moreover, paper was dear in the fifteenth century and not readily come-at-able by the unschooled who were also poor. Yet direct evidence is not entirely lacking that persons who occupied humble positions in life were able to write and therefore could read. Amongst the *Stonor Papers* in the Record Office there are half a dozen letters, dating from 1474 to 1478, from apprentices to their master, of which four were written by (but, indeed, it may be *for*) Godard Oxbrygge. These four letters are expressed in the idiom of the unlettered or at least are the work of one whose schooling had been imperfect; in that respect they are in strong contrast with the letters of his two fellow apprentices.² The *Papers* include also a number of running accounts and bills³ rendered by tradespeople, of whom the weaver and shoemaker would appear to be the actual craftsmen engaged. Some of the documents are pretty clearly the work of persons to whom the use of the pen is familiar; in one or two cases the point is doubtful. All prove that careful record of transactions was kept in the manner of a day-book.

Margery Paston wrote as follows to her husband on Christmas Eve, 1484 (?): 'I pray you that ye woll asur to your [you] 'some man at Easter to kepe your botry [buttery] for the mane

¹ Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, vol. i, p. 165.

² They will be found in A. C., vol. xlvj, nos. 107, 108, 109, 213, 80, and 138. All have been printed in Mr. C. L. Kingsford's *The Stonor Letters and Papers*, 1919.

³ Kingsford, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 101, vol. ii, pp. 67, 74, 75. Originals in Chancery Miscellanea 37, iii. 25, and iv. 29, 30, 32.

'that ye lefte with me woll not take upon hym to breve [i.e. 'make up accounts] dayly as ye commandyt. He sayth he hath 'not usyd to geve a rekenyng nothyr of bred nor alle [ale] tyll at 'the wekys end; and he sayth he wot well that he should not 'contenyth [content, give satisfaction] and therfor I sopose he 'shall not abyde, and I trow ye shall be fayne to purveye another 'man for Symond, for ye hav never the nerer a wysse man for 'hym.'¹ Here the ability to write seems to be assumed in any man who could be put in charge of the domestic bread and beer; Symond had probably another reason than incapacity of this sort for being unwilling to keep so intimate a record of his stewardship as a daily 'breve'.

The *Plumpton Correspondence* has a letter (cliv)² of the early sixteenth century written by, or for, a layman who had been put in charge of the keys of a chantry (spelt 'schawittry' and 'schawnter') to hold the chapel against another claimant. It is the work of an unlettered man.

These few instances of handwriting by comparatively uneducated persons do not take us far; but it is well to remind ourselves that the paucity of such cases does not prove a like paucity of readers. The contemporary continuator of Knighton's *Chronicon* under date 1381-2 complains that Wyclif's translation of the Gospel was a casting of pearls before swine to be trampled under their feet, that the turning of Latin into English vulgarized the text and made it more accessible to lay men and women who know how to read ('legere scientibus') than to clerks who were quite well read ('clericis admodum literatis').³ This testimony to the existence in the later fourteenth century of readers of the vernacular outside the confines of the clerical class is corroborated by the appearance about the same time of versions of the *Primer*. The manuscript copy in

¹ *Paston Letters*, Gairdner's edition of 1900, vol. iii, p. 314.

² *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Society, 1839.

³ Knighton, *Chronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. ii, p. 152.

St. John's College, Cambridge, was dated 'about 1400' by its modern (1891) editor, Henry Littlehales. There are many surviving manuscripts of the *Primer*, almost always of an inexpensive kind, not to be compared for a moment with the beautiful and costly *Horae* to be seen in museum cases. The devotional manuals in English, called *Primers*, were not owned or read by the humblest class; but they speak of readers, chiefly women, who could make but little of a Latin service, that is, who had not pursued or had pursued to little purpose the customary school studies of their day, but who desired to follow the service with understanding. The Latin cues freely interspersed in the English text make clear this intention of the book.

Information was laid in 1424 against one Walter Aslak that on the Norfolk shire-day, when there was a great concourse of people in Norwich, he posted 'Englische billes rynded in partye' on the city gates, on the gates of certain religious houses and in other parts of the city, threatening murder to William Paston and to others. These manuscript posters also contained 'these too words in Latyn, "et cetera", by which wordes communely it was understandyn that the forgeers and makers' meant even more malice than their bills expressed.¹ Of course one man might read a poster—not many could read it at the same moment—while many heard him read; but these public announcements placed in prominent positions, with the undefined menace of the 'too wordes in Latyn' and rimed in parts to catch the ear of the people, seem to expect a fairly numerous body of readers in a prosperous industrial and commercial centre such as Norwich then was.

Anything of a statistical nature coming from fifteenth-century Norfolk would be too favourable to be regarded as typical of England as a whole at that period. Not too much stress must therefore be laid on the descriptions of the twenty

¹ *Paston Letters*, *ut supra*, vol. i, p. 13.

men who were called as witnesses respecting the will of Sir John Fastolf, 1466.¹ The twenty consisted of two gentlemen, two merchants, seven husbandmen, 'agricultores' (who furnished the highest percentage of illiterates), two tailors, two mariners, a smith, a cook, a roper, and two clerks. The last two were of course *ex officio* lettered persons. Omitting them, the six literates were made up by the two merchants, two husbandmen, one of the two tailors, and one of the two mariners. The smith, cook, and roper were illiterate. But lest we should infer that ability to read was a mark of social standing, one of the two gentlemen is described as 'illiteratus', whilst nothing is said on this head respecting the other, 'Stephen Scrope, Esq. . . . seventy years old or about'. Whether the record is silent in deference to his rank or to his age cannot be determined. But the net result is that, ignoring the clerks, in a group of men drawn from widely separated social classes thirty-seven and a half per cent. are styled literate. Curiously, much the same proportion occurs in a document of 1373 relating to a suit between William of Wykeham and the Masters of St. Cross, Winchester. Twenty-eight witnesses were examined, half of them laymen of whom eleven are termed *literati*.² Eleven literates in a total of twenty-eight persons gives the proportion of thirty-nine per cent.

Evidence as to the growing number of persons able to read is implied by the change which was made in 1489 in the rule as to benefit of clergy. Between 1351 and that year laymen who could read enjoyed the privilege; but within the intervening century and a half the ability to read had extended to so many who were in fact laymen without any pretence to Holy Orders, that in 1489 a distinction was drawn between such persons and bona fide clergymen. On conviction of a first offence the layman was to be branded and henceforth lose his 'clergy'. The inference can hardly be avoided that there had been a consider-

¹ Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 271 seqq.

² V. C. H. Hants, vol. ii, p. 255.

able increase in the number of readers between the middle of the fourteenth and the end of the fifteenth century. As the various Lollard trials show, the ability to read an English book, or even the possession of such a book, brought suspicion of heresy upon the reader, or owner;¹ and many Lollards belonged to social classes in which schooling was not the rule.

Remark has often been made upon the character of the books first printed in England, and the large part taken amongst them by devotional manuals and romances, all in the vernacular and of a kind to secure a popular circulation. The foreign printer in the Low Countries saw a profitable market for English books, and before the fifteenth century closed the traffic in English books printed abroad was well established, thus continuing the much older trade in manuscripts which were not necessarily in English, though they were exported for the English market.² The character of this early printed matter and the later circulation of controversial pamphlets and Biblical translations point to a fairly large number of persons already able to read before the printed supply became available. An increase in the book-supply would undoubtedly in the end cause an increase in the number of readers; but the mere presence of books, however many, does not of itself turn the illiterate into readers.

Mr. Gordon Duff thought that Caxton did not follow but led the taste for books; yet he himself points out that Pynson (for whom such a claim could scarcely be advanced) 'with his 'learned books and official income stood no chance against 'Wynkyn de Worde with his romances and poetical tracts; 'for as we know from the Subsidy Rolls de Worde was by far 'the richer man'.³

¹ See Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, 1920.

² See A. W. Pollard, 'English Books printed Abroad', *Transactions, Bibliographical Society*, vol. iii. 1895-6.

³ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. ii, p. 322.

After the first quarter of the sixteenth century had closed, the evidence respecting readers of the vernacular becomes more definite. In May 1530 Bishop Nix of Norwich complained: 'I am accombred with such as keepeth and readeth these 'erroneous books in English and believe and give credence to 'the same. . . . I have done that lieth in me for the suppression of such persons ; but it passeth my power or any spiritual 'man for to do it. For divers saith openly in my diocese that 'the King's Grace would that they should have the said 'erroneous books and so maintaineth themselves of the King.' Professor A. W. Reed has shown in a paper read before the Society in November 1918 that these readers of heretical books by misunderstanding the phrase, *cum privilegio regis*, regarded their reading as blameless, if not praiseworthy.¹ Nix continues to complain that his informants tell him 'that wheresomever they 'go, they hear say that the King's pleasure is the New Testament 'in English should go forth and men should have it and read it'.²

The bishop believed that the reading of these 'erroneous books' was confined to merchants and dwellers on the seaboard ; 'the gentlemen and the commonalty be not greatly infected'. Four years after his letter was penned the 'commonalty' in the adjacent diocese of London shared the infection. Professor Reed, in the paper above cited, printed part of a document in the Record Office³ which sets forth a complaint from the village of Langham, a small place on the borders of Essex and Suffolk. The document describes the treatment meted out by the parish sidesman to certain maidens who on Ascension Day, 1534, sat in church reciting matins from an English *Primer*. For so doing the sidesman turned them out of the church to the accompaniment of such abusive words as he would venture to address to girls of the humblest rank only.

¹ *Transactions, Bibliographical Society*, vol. xv, pp. 157 ff.

² Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, vol. ii, p. 239, citing MS. Cott. Cleop., E. V. 36.

³ Misc. Bks., T. R., 120, p. 59.

The document does not say how many girls were reading a 'pryvyldgede book'; but as they are referred to as sitting 'in theyr pue or stole in the church', one may infer that they numbered more than two or three. The complaint says that this lay church officer 'after soche spitefull fassions doth he 'take parte against many and dyverse other monge us more 'for usynge to reade pryvyldgede bookes . . . so that we can 'not lyve by hym peaseable as god wolde and the kynge'. In this somewhat remote village there were 'many and diverse' readers of English books, some of them girls who in all probability had never received formal schooling.

Again, in reference to the Bible which Henry VIII in 1538 had 'set forth to be read in all churches in England', William Malden says 'immediately dyveres poore men in the towne of 'Chelmysford in the county of Essex, where my father dwelled 'and I borne and with him brought up, the sayd poore men 'bought the Newe Testament of Jesus Christ and on Sundays 'did sit redinge in the lower end of the church and many would 'flope about them to heare theyr redinge'. Those who could not read or did not possess a copy of the book came to hear the New Testament read; but the readers were 'poore men' and, once more, they would seem to be more than two or three. Of course, though poor men, as boys the readers may have attended school; but the grammar schools either did not teach boys to read or taught them to read in Latin. Malden himself says that this reading in church stimulated him to 'learne to rede English', not, be it observed, to learn to read. He was then fifteen years of age and if he had attended the Chelmsford Grammar School he would have been taught to read in Latin; he taught himself to read English by conning an English *Primer*.¹

¹ Strype, *Memorials of . . . Cranmer*, bk. i, ch. xvii; *Narratives of the Reformation*, chiefly from the MSS. of John Foxe (Camden Society, 1859), pp. 348 f., quoting MS. Harl. 590 f. 77.

The active opposition displayed by the Church to the use of English translations of the Bible and particularly to their use by laymen argues that ability to read English was by no means uncommon. Stokesley, Bishop of London (1530-9), declined to take the share in making such a translation as had been allocated to him by Cranmer. 'I marvel what my lord of Canterbury meaneth that thus abuseth the people in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion and never will. And therefore my lord shall have his book again, for I will never be guilty to bring the simple people into error.'¹ Stokesley at least believed there were many readers of English amongst the 'commonalty', the simple people.

Passages such as these corroborate the remarkable assertion by Sir Thomas More in his 'Apology . . . made by hym anno 1533 after that he had given over the office of lord Chancellour of Englande': 'And secondly also, if the havynge of the scripture in englyshe be a thyng so requisite of precyse necessitee that the peoples soules shoulde needes peryshe but if they have it translated into their own tongue; then must these the moste part perishe for all that, excepte the preacher make farther provision besyde, that all the people shall be hable to reade it when they have it, of which people farre more than fowre partes of all the whole divided into tenne coulde never reade englishe yet, and many now too olde to begynne to goe to schole.'² On this head More's opinion has not, and of course was not meant to have exact statistical value; but in making an approximation he must have had some ground for putting the number of readers of English at something more than half the population. Assuming a population of from four to five millions, forty per cent. would give a number of readers

¹ Strype, *Memorials* (bk. i, ch. viii, 1535): Oxford edition of 1848, vol. i, p. 71.

² *The Workes of Sir Thomas More*, London, 1557, p. 850.

between one and a half to two millions. If this is anywhere near the truth, such readers were not confined to the *men and boys* who had gone through the customary grammar school course.

Some countenance to this inference is afforded by Henry's proclamation of 1538 for 'bringing in seditious books', a measure which set up a censorship over imported books in English and over books in English printed at home. The preamble to this proclamation after a reference to the heretical teaching of the books, their margins, prefaces, and annotations, and to the increased circulation which they had attained, goes on to state that by their means many of the King's 'loving but simple' subjects were induced arrogantly and superstitiously to dispute in open places and taverns upon baptism, and upon the holy sacrament of the altar, not only to their own slander, but to the reproach of the whole realm and his grace's high discontentation and displeasure with the danger of increasing the said enormities.¹ It does not follow that all of those Hyde Park orators could read; the preaching bricklayer of Whitechapel, Harridaunce, could not read, although he always had a New Testament in his pocket. On the other hand, the language of the proclamation is not directed to a mere handful of readers.

The Act of Henry VIII, 34-5, c. i (1543) 'for the advancement of true religion and for the abolishment of the contrarie' bears a similar import. It forbade the reading of an English Bible by women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving-men of the rank of yeomen or under, husbandmen and labourers. Noblemen, gentlemen, merchants might read the Bible in their own families; noblewomen and gentlewomen might read it privately but not to others. This measure of the 'Reformed Parliament' clearly regards reading in the vernacular as an art

¹ Cott. MSS., Cleop. E. 5, fol. 321. Strype, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 410. The date, 1530, there given is incorrect; compare p. 153 in the same volume.

widely disseminated among the humblest social ranks irrespective of sex.

When and how did these technically *illiterati*, these ostensibly uneducated men and women, learn this art? The school *par excellence* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the grammar school, whether administered by its own independent governing body, or adjoined to a cathedral or collegiate church, or associated with a gild, a hospital or a chantry. The main function of the grammar school is expressed in its name; it taught Latin. With English it had no concern, constitutionally at least. Those schools which could stand most resolutely by their constitution held that it was not their business to teach children to read. Colet's statutes for St. Paul's (1518) require of a boy at his admission 'that he canne the catechyzon and also that he can rede and wryte competently, elles let hymn not be admitted in no wyse'.¹ At Westminster the requirement in 1560 was 'as a minimum that they have thoroughly learned the eight parts of speech by heart and know how to write at least moderately well'.² St. Albans laid down the same conditions in 1570: 'none shall be received into the School but such as have learned their Accidence without booke and can write indifferently'.³ The Rules and Orders made in 1599 at Alford, a small country town in Lincolnshire, say: 'There shall none be admitted into this Grammar School before he can read perfectly and write legibly. That it is not accounted any part of the Schoolmaster his duty to teach any of his Scholars to write, but of his own good will and gentleness'.⁴ But in so small a town as Alford at so late a date as 1599 insistence on

¹ J. W. Lupton, *Life of Dean Colet*, 1909, p. 277.

² 'Ad minimum octo orationis partes memoriter probe didicerint et qui scribere saltem mediocriter noverint.' Statutes, cap. vi, in Leach's *Educational Charters*, p. 502.

³ N. Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, 1818, vol. i, p. 517.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 784.

the rule either means that elementary instruction in English was available elsewhere or, more probably, it is pure affectation intended to assert without question the school's status as a grammar school. The saving clause about the master's goodwill favours the latter interpretation.

At a much earlier date than 1599 most of the smaller grammar schools had found it expedient to admit 'petties', little children who were taught the alphabet and reading by the second master, the usher. The ancient practice was to teach reading from the Latin Psalter and to follow this at a very short interval by the rote-learning of the Donat. The plan was common both to the grammar school and to the song school, the aim of the latter being to train choir-boys or boys to assist at Mass, for which purpose they must be able both to sing and to read Latin. The song school was nothing like a modern elementary school, the vernacular having no place in its instruction; but of course the boy able to read Latin would soon learn to read English. The song school and the earliest instruction given in some grammar schools would therefore account for some of our illiterates who could read English. The somewhat desperate attempts to write colloquial phrases in a phonetic spelling which are features of the *Cely Papers* and other collections of fifteenth-century letters raise the suspicion that the writers in some instances had learned to read in a song school or had escaped from the grammar school at an early age.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the express function of the grammar school, the distinction between it and the song school and the indifference of both schools to the vernacular were fully understood. As late as 1477 Ipswich Town Ordinances gave to the grammar school master the jurisdiction of all scholars within the liberty and precinct of the town, 'the petties called A B C's and of Song being excepted' ('exceptis petytis vocatis Apesyses et Songe').¹ There were,

¹ Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 422.

then, in the outskirts of Ipswich facilities for very rudimentary teaching in the art of reading with which the grammar school master had no concern, the instruction being of a different order from his own.

The grammar school was the creation of the Church and the Church in the earlier centuries had, however unwillingly, been compelled to adopt a curriculum which had its origin in the rhetorical education of the Roman Empire. Hence the clerkly schooling which educated the priest, the administrator, the lawyer, the physician, the civil servant and the university scholar, whose objects were rendered the easier to attain because one language was common to them all. But such a schooling was difficult to apply to all whose occupations and interests were commercial or industrial; and this was especially true of men in the lower ranks of commerce or of industry. Clerks in the modern sense were needed, men who could read and write their mother tongue and keep accounts accurately. Journeymen who looked to become masters would find their progress facilitated if they possessed these elementary arts, which indeed would be of service to all sorts of craftsmen. The grammar school of the old type troubled about none of these things.

In the fifteenth century England had ceased to be a purely agricultural country; there was a notable expansion of trade and of manufacture. This is the condition which favours the creation of a type of schooling different from the clerkly, a schooling in the vernacular and in the three R's. The need for such a schooling and the failure of the existing schools, whether of the grammar school model or of other and less systematic types, were recognized by Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who established at Acaster near York, at some time between 1466 and 1483, three masters to teach respectively grammar, music, and 'the third to teche to Write and all such things as belonged to Scrivener Craft to all manner of persons

'... within the realm of England ... openly and freely without 'exaction of money'.¹ In 1483 Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, founded Jesus College in his native place, Rotherham, similarly provided with teachers of grammar, music, and writing. The language of Rotherham's statutes in reference to this third art is very significant, marking at once a revolution in men's ideas of education and an economic and social development for which the clerkly upbringing made little or no preparation. 'Thirdly, because that country-side ["illa terra", Yorkshire] brings forth many youths endowed 'with the light of keen wit and not all of them wish to attain 'to the lofty dignity of the priesthood, we have ordained a 'third fellow knowing and skilled in the arts of writing and 'keeping accounts ("computandi") in order that such youths 'may be rendered more capable for the mechanic arts and other 'worldly affairs'.² The words anticipate Sutton's statutes of 1612 for Charterhouse: 'It shall be [the Master's] care and the 'Usher's charge to teach the Scholars to cipher and cast an 'account, especially those that are less capable of learning and 'fittest to be put to trades.'

A mutilated letter contemporary with the foundation of Jesus College illustrates the need at this time for such instruction as could be given by a man skilled in keeping accounts. William Cely in Calais, writing on 14 April 1484 to his principals in 'Martt Lane', London, in allusion to the firm's solvency, says 'makyng of serche of yowre delynges here I trow ther ys 'noo man that makyth any; yff the[y] doo they nede goo noo 'farther than the bokes yn the tesery [treasury] wher they may 'fynde that yowre sallyz [sales] made withyn lesse than thys yere 'amountes above'³ two thousand pounds sterling, a turnover of perhaps twelve or fifteen times as much in money of to-day.

¹ The authority is an Act of Parliament of 1483.

² Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 424.

³ *The Cely Papers*, 1900, p. 153.

It was the requirements of such businesses as the Cely's which encouraged a new type of elementary instruction. The 'petytis vocatis Apesyses' of Ipswich in 1477 two generations later are found in many a grammar school with the recognized standing of 'the petties' who were regularly taught to read and even to read English, the grammar school tradition notwithstanding. The references in school records and statutes to 'petties' and 'grammar scholars' sometimes add a third category, 'readers'. In the absence of any definition of the term, one conjectures that these were children whose instruction was expressly restricted to the art of reading, whether in Latin or in English.

While the grammar school taught the established curriculum it was by no means the only channel of instruction. From early days it had been the custom for the local priest to teach the children of his cure the elements of the Christian faith. The ecclesiastical council held at Westminster in the year 1200 laid it down that 'priests in the towns should have schools and teach the little ones ("parvulos") gratis. Priests should always have in their houses ["domibus suis", i.e. their churches] a school such as schoolmasters have ("ludimagistorum scholas") and, if any devout person wishes to entrust his little ones to them for instruction, the priests ought to receive them with the greatest pleasure and teach them kindly.'¹ Under Gregory IX (1227-41) the duty was canonical. 'Let every priest who presides over a people ("qui plebem regit", i.e. is a parish priest) have a clerk to sing and read the Epistle and Lesson, a man able to keep school and admonish his parishioners that they send their sons to church to learn the Faith and that the priest may chastely educate them'.² A gloss on the words 'to keep

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 270; Leach, op. cit., p. 138.

² Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, &c., vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 274, quoting at second-hand *Decret. Greg. IX*, lib. iii, tit. i, c. iii.

school' runs 'for teaching the Psalter and singing'. This particular keeping of school did not necessarily involve the teaching of reading, still less of writing. But here and there a capable priest may have taken a less restricted view of his obligation and there were cases in which it would be necessary to teach the boys to read the Latin Psalter.

The history of chantries bears this out. A wealthy foundation of this kind situated in a large town frequently had associated with it a grammar school of the ordinary type. But there were many chantries in small and even remote places, poorly endowed and quite unsuitable for the nucleus of a school; yet even in such cases elementary instruction was available. The primary purpose of a chantry was to perpetuate the memory of the founder and prayer for his salvation and for the salvation of all Christian souls. The chantry priest was bound by the terms of the foundation to celebrate masses periodically with that intention. For this purpose he required the assistance of boys to act as servers at the altar and to make the liturgical responses. The foundation deeds of many chantries provide for a *rota* of such boys who equally with the priest were 'on the foundation'. In these instances the boys must be taught to read Latin and to sing; to that extent the chantry was a song school and like all such schools would teach its pupils to read. Out of such purely elementary teaching, where the priest was a capable man, some of the grammar schools developed; these when not an integral part of the foundation but merely annexes which had grown up by custom, were the schools which disappeared when the chantries were abolished in 1547. The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in November 1529 admonished all having cure of souls, rectors, vicars, and chantry priests, to devote their leisure-time to honourable occupations befitting their profession as 'teaching children ("pueros") the alphabet, reading, song, and grammar'.¹

¹ Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 444, 446.

The chantry of the Berkshire village of Childrey was late in foundation, but it very well illustrates the kind of quite elementary instruction which such foundations sometimes gave, and so taught children living away from large towns at least to read. By will dated 20 July 1526 William Fettiplace endowed a chantry of one chaplain in the parish church, a man sufficiently learned in grammar who should keep a free school in his house. In the first place he should teach boys the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, and all other things necessary for serving the priest at mass, together with the psalm *De Profundis*, the Collects and the prayers customary for the dead; also he should teach them to say grace as well at dinner as at supper. Thus far the first concern of the testator is to ensure that the special services in church for which the endowment primarily existed shall be decently conducted. The boys are to be taught to read, since the alphabet is prescribed; but the reading and the recitation of the formularies are in Latin. The will then passes to the boys' education, which is to be moral and religious above all things. They are to learn by heart *in English* the Ten Commandments and an outline of those elements of the Catholic theology which devout lay people were expected to know. 'Moreover if they were apt and disposed to learn grammar, he should instruct them in grammar in the best manner he could and especially teach them what was most expedient according to his true estimation and the sound counsel of learned men.' Every day was to end with prayers for the dead, with special mention of the founder by name. Outside the particular service of the chantry, a large discretion is allowed to the priest in this case, but he is bound to teach the rudiments of reading in Latin at least. Whatever instruction he gave was to be gratis, though he was not forbidden to accept voluntary gifts.¹

¹ *V. C. H. Berkshire*, vol. ii, pp. 275 ff. (Leach). See also Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, Part II, p. 11.

Sir Thomas More notes a change in the method of elementary instruction, attributing the use of English in place of Latin to the desire to propagate heresy; the teaching in the so-called 'schools' of the Lollards certainly was directed to the study of the English Bible and may have included instruction in reading. 'After the Psalter', says More, 'children were wont to go to their Donate and their accidence but now [1532] they go straight to Scripture. And thereto have we as a Donate the book of the *Pathway to Scripture* and for an accidence, because we should be good scholars shortly and be soon sped, we have the whole *Sum of Scripture* in a little book; so that after these books well learned we be meet for Tyndale's *Pentateuch* and Tyndale's *New Testament* and all the other high heresies that he and Jay and Frith and Frere Barnes teach in all their books beside.'¹ More's objection was to the heresy, not to the English. In Utopia 'they be taughte learninge in their owne natyve tong.'

Where there was an express obligation upon a chantry priest to teach grammar, the lack of candidates for instruction of that kind, or the inability of the incumbent to teach Latin beyond the accidence, sometimes led to the teaching of reading only, possibly the reading of English. There are signs of this in the Chantry certificates. Thus, of Shenston, Staffordshire, it is said: 'the incombent is bound by the foundation to teche yong children of the said paryshe grammar or otherwyse accordyng to his knowledge'.² At Montgomery, 'Sir' William Ilkes, who had been engaged to keep a free school, 'taught but yonge begynnners onelye, to write and syng, and to reade soo farre as the accidens Rules and noo grammer'.³ At Launceston where the schoolmaster-incumbent was 'well learned' and taught grammar, a payment of one mark a year was made 'to

¹ *Workes*, p. 343.

² Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, Part II, p. 206.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

an aged man chosen by the mayre to teache yonge chylderne the A. B. C.¹ Yet another way in which children might learn to read without attending school is indicated in the certificate for 'Peryn', the ancient Cornish town of Penryn, 'John Pownde, bell rynger there, of the age of 30 yeres, hathe for 'his salarye ther 40s, as well for teachynge pore mens children 'there A. B. C. as for ryngynge the Belles'. At Newland, Gloucestershire, the chantry priest was endowed for his primary duty and also 'to kepe a Gramer scoole half Free; 'that is to seye, taking of scolers lerning gramer 8d the quarter, 'and of others lerning to rede 4d the quarter.' At Bromyard, Herefordshire, the chantry priest was bound to 'brynge up 'the chylderne borne in the parishe in Reading, Wryting and 'gramer.' Christ's College, Brecknock, in addition to its grammar school, employed a chaplain 'to singe masse Daly . . . 'and to teache the yonge children resorting to the said scole 'there a. b. c.'² We are reminded of the ancient canonical duty of the parish clerk 'to keep school'. Sir George Monoux in making rules (1541) for his grammar school at Walthamstow assigned a payment of two marks 'to the Parish Clerk in case he assists in teaching'. This entry opens a wide field of conjecture as to the possibility of learning to read even where there were no schools. For the chantries were not alone in providing elementary instruction in this somewhat informal way. Amongst the hundreds of 'hospitals' (*hospitia*) which existed in medieval England some taught children grammar, others, like that of St. John's, Exeter, were limited to 'beginning with 'the alphabet and going on to the great psalter of the Holy 'David'.³ Down to the very last, chantry priests were exhorted to continue this kind of elementary teaching. The Injunctions of Edward VI issued in the first year of his reign in advance of

¹ Ibid., p. 34.

² Ibid., pp. 31, 82, 98, 317.

³ See Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England*, 1909.

the Chantries Act, contained this clause: 'Item, that all 'chantery priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth 'to read and write, and bring them up in good manners and 'other vertuous exercises'.¹ When the Commissioners visited Bocking (Essex) they reported that 'Sir John Kinge, chauntry priest . . . teachithe childerne to wrytte and Reade their'.² At Saffron Walden the Gild of the Holy Trinity employed 'one 'Sir James Broughton, clerke, of thage of fyfthe yeres having 'none other promocion and teachythe childerne to wrytte and 'reade and other lyke good exercyses';³ he also was a chantry priest.

Grammar schools and chantry schools may be regarded as a more or less public provision for education. But there were also private teachers who represented a tradition older than either of them and who continued to teach with or without the bishop's licence. They were of all degrees of efficiency, although of course we hear more frequently of their worst than of their best. In May 1446, a Privy Seal writ speaks of 'the 'great abusions that have ben of long tyme withinne oure 'Citee of London that many and divers persones not sufficiently 'instruct in gramer presumynge to holde commune gramer 'scoles in greet deceipte aswel unto theire scolers as unto the 'frendes that fynde them to scole'.⁴ But the petties called 'Apesyses' in the suburbs of Ipswich in 1477 were not learning grammar, although they were in some cases preparing the way for it. It is reasonable to suppose that some of these children never had further schooling, their parents being content if the

¹ Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 472.

² Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, Part II, p. 66.

³ H. G. Williams, *Essex Schools before 1600* (Thesis for degree of M.A., University of London) to which this paper is indebted for several Essex references. The citation above is from the Duchy of Lancaster Certificate of Colleges, P. R. O.

⁴ Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 417.

little ones could read or make a show of reading. It is probable that some of these petties were girls.

To form any estimate as to the number of these private adventure teachers or the number of their pupils is impossible. In the larger towns the teachers may have been numerous but none of them would have many pupils, otherwise they would have competed with the established schools and so have brought upon themselves the ban of the local bishop or ordinary. But facilities for instruction, whether in Latin or in the art of reading, were more widely extended in the fifteenth and especially in the sixteenth century than is to-day generally supposed. Archbishop Rotherham, when endowing his native place with Jesus College, gave as a reason for choosing that town for its site his gratitude for his own debt in that place to an unattached teacher, Rotherham having no provision for teaching grammar. Here, says the Archbishop, he passed his youthful years ('impuberem etatem') untaught, illiterate, unformed and would so have remained, were it not by the grace of God that a man learned in grammar came there and successfully taught him and many others ('plures alii'). Yet another archbishop owed his earliest instruction to a teacher unattached to any school. Thomas Cranmer was born in the Nottinghamshire village of Aslocton in July 1489 'and learned 'his grammar of a rude parishe clerke in that barbarus tyme '[John Foxe is speaking] unto his age of fourteen yeares when 'he went up to Cambridge'.¹ An examination of the first two volumes of *Alumni Cantabrigienses* shows that the men whose names are there entered as having come up before the year 1600 were drawn from some 320 different places, not all of course being places furnished with a school. About one quarter of these places lies in the prosperous industrial area of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. The same record reveals forty-seven

¹ MS. Harl. 417, f. 90 quoted in *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camden Soc.), p. 218.

schools, or other means of instruction preparing for the University, in Essex, these being situated for the most part in the north and north-west of the county. To-day Essex has thirty-four secondary schools, more than half of them concentrated in the extreme south-east of the county, within or just outside the London border.

The invasion of the grammar school by the petties with their alphabet and first attempts to read seems to have aroused a protest by Roger Lupton, Provost of Eton, who founded the chantry at Sedbergh in 1528. His endowment was for the celebration of Masses and the teaching of grammar. The 'chauntry pryst scolemaster shall not be bounde to teche ne 'cause no scoler of hys to teche any other thyng but gramer to 'any chylthern' except for an agreed payment, 'so that the sayd scolemaster or sayd scoler be not letted to teche grammar.'¹

But circumstances were too strong for many grammar schools. Two illustrations may be given, both from the second half of the sixteenth century, the first from London, the second from a Worcestershire village. In January 1561, the churchwardens of St. Olave's, Southwark, were instructed 'to prepare a scollemaster wyche shalbe suffycyent to teche the 'childerne . . . to write and rede and caste accompthe', the children being 'mene' (men) children only. Three years later the master was to have 'at the entry of every skoller 6d. and 'at what tyme every suche skoller is so lernyd that he beginneth 'to wryte, the skowllmaster then to have 8d.' A parish minute of 1566 states that the school is for the parish children 'untyll 'suche tyme that they sayd children can be lerned to rede 'awrighte [and write] sufficiently till they be abell to goo to 'servyce, or elles other wyse to goo to gramer, as their frendes 'shall thinke for them most fetyst at that tyme'.² Southwark in its two schools of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's thus in effect

¹ Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, vol. ii, pp. 303 ff.

² Leach, *V. C. H. Surrey*, vol. ii, pp. 181 ff.

secured a grammar school and an elementary school. The same combination apparently was made at Dedham, Essex, where the same governors and the same endowment supported a grammar school and a writing master, labouring in his own dwelling-house where he taught children the three R's. This master's office was created by a will of July 1599.

The ancient grammar school of Hartlebury went through a process of refoundation in 1565, when Edwin Sandys, then Bishop of Worcester, obtained a charter and drafted statutes. The latter exhort the master and usher to 'bringe up their scholars as well in vertue and good learninge . . . as also shall instruct them in the true knowledge of God and his holie word as much as in them liethe'. This was the usual grammar school function, 'learninge' being well understood to mean the ancient tongues. But the very next statute runs: 'Item, that the said Scholemr. and Usher shall at least one afternoone in everie weeke teache the Scholers of the said Schole to write and caste accompts, whereby their hands may be exercised and so they trained to write fair hands and likewise not ignorant in reconinge and accomptinge'.¹

So well intrenched in the grammar school had the children become who made no pretence at grammar that the Canons of 1571 take for granted the presence in these schools of 'pueros qui Latine nesciunt', directing that the Latin catechism of 1570 be translated into English for their instruction.² So we have Richard Mulcaster publishing in 1582 the *First Part of the Elementarie* for the assistance of 'such peple as teach childern to read and write English', not necessarily in schools.

The character and method of a rudimentary instruction commonly accessible at the close of the sixteenth century and

¹ D. Robertson, *The Old Order Book of Hartlebury Grammar School*, 1904, pp. 198 f.

² Sparrow, *A Collection of Articles . . . with other Public Records of the Church of England*, 1675, p. 240.

the standing of some of those who gave it may be gathered from a small book of less than one hundred pages which was first published in 1596. This is *The Englische Scholemaister* of Edward (or Edmund) Coote, master of Bury St. Edmunds School from June 1596 to the following May. The book enjoyed a long life, its last recorded issue being dated 1704; a copy published at Dublin in 1684 claims to be the forty-second imprint. The unique but imperfect British Museum copy of 1596 lacks the title-page and the prefatory matter; but these remain so constant in six imprints dating from 1636 to 1692 that it is reasonable to believe that as they appear in the 1636 and following issues so they were when the book first left Coote's hands. 'The preface for direction to the reader' has this passage: 'I am now therefore to direct my speech to the unskilfull, which desire to make use of it for their owne private benefit; and to such men and women of trade as Taylors, Weavers, Shoppe-keepers, Seamsters and such others as have undertaken the charge of teaching others.' Study it diligently, 'and thou mayest sit on thy shop-board, at thy loomes or at thy needle and never hinder thy worke to heare thy Schollers, after thou hast once made the little book familiar to thee.'

The book is both a text-book for the pupil and a guide to method for his instructor. The contents include syllables and their combinations in English words, rules for dividing words into syllables, for spelling, for punctuation, a 'disputation' between two boys by way of exercise upon what they have learned, a religious catechism, prayers, psalms, metrical psalms, and some doggerel verses, 'the Schoolemaister to his Schollers.' A few lines which only serve to make such a number as '1596' intelligible carry the imposing title, 'The first part of Arithmeticke called Numeration.' Then comes a chronology running from 'Sheth' anno mundi 130 to A.D. 500 when 'the Gothes conquered Italy; then increased Barbarisme and

Papistrie'. A vocabulary of the less common words follows, with their simpler English synonyms, directions for its use being given 'for the unskilfull'.

The 'disputation', or mutual examination by the two boys, reveals the reader who is unable to write. Thus :

'John. How write you, people ?

Robert. I cannot write.

John. I meane not so. . . . I meane spell.

Robert. Then I answer you p, e, o, p, l, e.'

Both boys have had experience of the teaching of the 'unskilfull'. Robert had been to the parish clerk. 'But Goodman Taylor, our clarke, when I went to schoole with him, taught me to sound these vowels otherwise than (methinks) you doe. . . . I remember hee taught me these sillables thus : for 'bad, bed, bid, bod, bud, I learned to say bad [bade ?], bid, 'bide, bode, bude . . . for these three vowels e, i, u are very 'corruptly and ignorantly taught by many unskilfull Teachers.' John replies : 'You say true, for so did my Dame teach mee to pronounce for sa, se, si, so, su as sa, see, si, so, soo, as if shee 'had sent me to see her sow, whenas (e) should be sounded like 'the sea, and sue as to sue one at the law.'

These men and women who eked out a livelihood by teaching children to read, and perhaps to spell, were numerous enough at this date to make it worth while to provide manuals for them and for their pupils, few of whom would ever receive a more orthodox schooling.

Girls of distinguished social position had their own traditional type of education, whether they found it in the homes of their parents or in the households of their social equals or in nunneries, either as wards of the abbess or as school-girls instructed by a nun or nuns. Their education had little in common with that of the school, save that the girls were taught to read. But the daughters of the landowning classes are

outside the scope of this paper. The instruction, during these centuries, of girls of the middle and lower ranks, whose parents were not absolutely poor but whose condition did not afford more than a competence, constitutes the most baffling problem of our educational history.

There was a well-recognized distinction between the sexes in this matter. Boys might become 'clerks'; girls could not. The grammar school in its original constitution was intended to give the clerkly upbringing and, from that point of view, was not suitable for the attendance of girls. Yet throughout Christian times pious exercises and some elementary religious knowledge were thought to be peculiarly appropriate to every girl's education. When books, in manuscript or printed, became more generally available the art of reading naturally took a place in girls' religious instruction. For them chiefly the earliest English *Primers* were made; and these books were before the era of the printed book. The smaller works printed by Caxton and his immediate successor seem to appeal to the habits and tastes of women rather than to those of men; either way, they were not peculiarly men's books.

If the grammar schools were closed to girls, where did they secure instruction? It has already been suggested that girls shared with their brothers the teaching given by private adventure teachers; perhaps also in some cases they were found in the small classes conducted by parish priests, parish clerks, and even in those of some chantry priests. Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx, in his *Book of the Hermit Life* (mid-twelfth century), advises the anchoresses not to admit boys or girls to their cells; he adds, that some anchoresses turn their cells into schools.¹ The author of the *Ancren Riwele* about a century later repeats the advice, but he would allow the recluse's maid to teach any little girl whom it might be inadvisable to teach with boys.²

¹ Migne, *P. L.*, t. xxxii, col. 1453.

² *The Ancren Riwele*, ed. J. Morton, 1853, pp. 422 f.

Richard Mulcaster in *Positions* (1581)¹ has a good deal to say about the instruction of 'young maidens'. 'Our countrey doth allow it, our duetie doth enforce it, their aptnesse calls for it, their excellencie commandes it.' There is no public provision for it; it is not the practice of his country to send girls to grammar schools and there is no English precedent for admitting them to universities. 'Young maidens be ordinarily trained' in 'the first *Elementarie*'; they learn to read, to write, to sing, and to play an instrument. But he laments that for boys and girls alike this rudimentary instruction is commonly given by inferior teachers. 'For the *Elementarie* bycause good scholers will not abase themselves to it, it is left to the meanest and therefore the worst'.² These are the weavers, tailors, and other amateur instructors whom Coote was later to assist. Mulcaster says that girls (and here no doubt he alludes to the daughters of families in easy circumstances) are under instruction 'commonly till they be about thirtene or fouretene yeares old'. 'Reading if for nothing else it were, as for many thinges else it is, is verie needefull for religion;' but women that have skill and time to read may enjoy 'many and great contentments, many and sound comfortes, many and manifolde delites.'

But did English girls never find entrance into grammar schools? Mulcaster, a grammar school master but in London, where other means than schools were accessible to them, says, 'no!' without any reservation. Yet there are facts which contradict him even in his own time. There are obvious reasons why girls would not remain to complete the grammar school course; but were they never among the petties, 'readers' or in the lower forms?

There appears to have been no legal impediment to their presence or even to their undertaking the full course. The

¹ Ch. 38. See R. H. Quick's edition, 1887, pp. 166 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 233.

Statute of Artificers (1405-6) made the following proviso to its otherwise disabling enactment: 'Provided always that every man or woman, of whatsoever estate or condition, be free to put son or daughter to learn letters at any school which pleases them within the realm.'¹ 'Dapprendre lettereure' describes exactly the function of the medieval grammar school. Leach drew attention to the name 'Maria Mareflete' on the roll (1404) of the Boston Corpus Christi gild, where she is termed 'magistra scholarum'.² Had the term been in the masculine it must be rendered 'schoolmaster' or 'headmaster' as distinguished from his subordinate the 'ostiarus', 'usher'. Whatever the English practice may have been, some modicum of Latin was being taught to girls by women at that time in Paris. In June 1380, the Cantor of Notre Dame, who was the official head of the schools, summoned a meeting of the teachers within his jurisdiction; and these included 'honourable women keeping school and teaching grammar' ('ac honestis mulieribus scholas in arte grammatica regentibus et tenentibus').³ Again, Charles Jourdain in his *Mémoires sur l'éducation des femmes au moyen âge* (1870) prints a licence granted in May 1484, to Perrette la Couppenoire 'to keep school at Paris in the parish of St. Germain l'Auxerrois and to teach and instruct girls in good manners, in grammar ("litteris grammaticalibus") and in other lawful and honourable matters'.

At the head of his account⁴ of the Oakham and Uppingham Grammar Schools, Carlisle sets a woodcut of 'the common seal of the Governing Body of the schools and hospitals of Okeham and Uppingham in the County of Rutland', to English

¹ 'mettre son fitz ou file dapprendre lettereure a quelconq escolle que leur plect deinz le Roialme'—*Statutes of the Realm*, 7 Hen. IV, c. 17.

² *V. C. H. Lincoln*, vol. ii, p. 451.

³ A. Franklin, 'La vie privée d'autrefois: Écoles et Collèges', p. 51, quoting Sonnet, 'Statuts et réglemens des Petites-Écoles de grammaire', 1672, pp. 1 and 176.

⁴ *Endowed Grammar Schools*, 1818, vol. ii, p. 323.



Photograph of the Seal of the Schools of Oakham and
Uppingham founded in the reign of Elizabeth

Taken from the thesis presented by Mrs. Dorothy Meads for
the Ph.D. degree of London University in December 1928 :
*An Account of the Education of Women and Girls in England
in the time of the Tudors*



From E. Coote's *The English Schoolmaster*, 1662

the Latin running round the shield itself. The silver original is now in the Governors' custody but I understand that they have no knowledge as to how and when it became their property. The shield depicts seven persons, one, which fills most of the field, being that of the schoolmaster seated at a table on which lies the birch, the customary symbol of the grammar teacher. The other six are very small figures of pupils, each holding an open book; four are boys, two, standing side by side and apart from the rest, are girls. If Robert Johnson, or any one else for whom this seal was designed, did not intend to admit girls into the grammar school, there would be no reason in giving a place to these girlish figures. The schools were founded in 1584, but the statutes, which do not assign a common seal to the Governing Body, are dated 1625. The costumes are, I think, late Elizabethan or early Jacobean; whatever the origin of the seal, it appears to be evidence that at that period the instruction of girls in grammar, whether separately or in common with boys, was a possibility. Still, too much stress must not be laid upon one instance, and it is just possible that the seal depicts not two girls, but two very young boys in skirts and not in doublet and hose. This presumably would symbolize the presence of petties. But if the seal engraver meant these figures for babies, he has given us two of a very elderly aspect.

An even more perplexing woodcut decorates the verso of Coote's title-page in the issues of 1662, 1665. A grammar master is seated at a table listening to a child in the foreground who is 'up to say'; eleven other children are seated at some distance from the master, whose costume is contemporary with that of his confrère in the Uppingham seal, that is to say, Elizabethan or early Jacobean. All the children wear a voluminous garment; none wears doublet and hose. All may be girls; alternatively eleven may be 'petties' of one or both sexes. But the child who confronts the master wears a skirt

with a long train that sweeps the ground ; I find it impossible to suppose she is not a girl.

When we turn to school statutes in general the evidence is not conclusive either way. Where these are in Latin, it is common form to say that the school is for the benefit of ' pueri et juvenes ' ; where the Latin is translated, or where parallel English statutes exist, the phrase is correctly rendered ' children and youths '. In either case, girls may or may not be included. The statutes of Bunbury Grammar School (1594) admit a limited number of girls but they are to remain only until they can read English, and not beyond the age of nine. A considerable number of statutes belonging chiefly but not exclusively to the second half of the sixteenth century expressly limits their beneficiaries to boys. Thus, Manchester Grammar School (1519) requires the pupil to be ' a man child '. St. Olave's, Southwark (1560), which did not begin as a grammar school, was for ' men children ' only, Felsted (1564) admitted ' eighty male children '. John Lyon appended to his statutes (1590) for Harrow a number of rules, one of which runs ' No girls shall be received to be taught in the same school '.¹ At Tiverton (1599) the admission is for none ' but boyes and none ' above the age of eighteen yeares or under the age of sixe ' yeares and none under a grammar scholler '.² Strype gives certain injunctions (c. 1598-9), attributing them to Whitgift, the church referred to being Canterbury Cathedral. ' That there ' shall not be any school kept of children within the Church, besides the Queen's School, and that for the choristers: of maiden ' children especially.³ It seemeth very unfit that girles should ' be taught in a school within the precincts of the Church especially seeing they may have instruction by women in the town.' These prohibitions seem to indicate that it was not unknown, indeed it may have been not uncommon for girls to be

¹ Carlisle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 137.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 340.

³ Strype, *Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, Oxford, 1822, vol. iii, p. 383.

admitted to grammar schools. Women and girls of the sixteenth century no less than their descendants of the twentieth had a way of going wherever they really had a mind to go.

In seeking illustrations for this paper, intentionally no reference has been made to the sixteenth-century literature. But the present topic coupled with the name of Mulcaster, sometimes thought to be the original of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*, reminds one that Shakespeare saw no incongruity in assigning girls as well as boys to the tuition of a grammar school master.

The conclusion of this paper is that it may be said of the English people of the fifteenth and especially of the sixteenth century that it was by no means an illiterate society and that facilities for rudimentary instruction at least were so distributed as to reach even small towns and villages. True to the national tradition, parents used, or failed to use, these opportunities for their children's benefit as they individually pleased. But where teaching existed there were candidates to receive it; and, though we may not accept Sir Thomas More's estimate of the proportion of the population that could read, we seem forced to believe that it was an appreciable proportion and greatly in excess of the number as frequently, perhaps usually, assumed to-day. How that assumption came about is another story.

THE MARGARITA PHILOSOPHICA OF
GREGORIUS REISCH

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

By DR. JOHN FERGUSON



ON Monday, 18 June 1900, Mr. Faber, Vice-President, in the chair, Dr. John Ferguson, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow, gave a lecture on the *Margarita Philosophica* of Gregorius Reisch, illustrating his remarks by means of seventy-five lantern slides. The lecture had not been written out, and the only record of it in the Society's *Transactions* is the note which the Hon. Secretary took in long-hand to print in the *News-Sheet*, which at that time was sent to members after each meeting. As Professor Ferguson never found time to write out his paper, this note was reprinted in the 'Journal' of the Society's Meetings in vol. v of its *Transactions* (pp. 180-2), with the foot-note 'the Hon. Secretary is responsible for this very imperfect summary of Dr. Ferguson's paper'. But although the paper itself was never written out, Professor Ferguson nearly completed a full bibliography, and it is a pleasure to print this as it has come to us by permission of his literary executors. The original summary is once more reprinted with a few slight changes, and the Bibliography follows. As to this it should be remembered that it dates back to the beginning of the century, before the present more compendious methods of noting signatures and other details came into use.

SUMMARY

After a brief mention of the author, Gregorius Reisch, who flourished at the end of the fifteenth century, was Prior of the

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House of Carthusians at Freiburg and confessor to the Emperor Maximilian, the lecturer addressed himself to a survey of the earliest editions of this compendium of grammar, science and philosophy, and their illustrations.

It was first printed (*primiciali hac pressura*) at Freiburg itself by Johann Schott, a Strasburg printer, who was specially summoned thither for the purpose, in the year 1503. The book was successful, and ten other editions were issued in the sixteenth century, the last, that of 1599, being an Italian translation. Several of these editions were unauthorized, the first of such reprints being issued in February 1504, by Johann Grüninger at Strasburg. To this a synopsis of Hebrew grammar was added, and the colophon of the second authorized edition, printed by Schott in March of the same year, contains a warning that such additions are not the work of the author. As no place of printing is given, it is doubtful if this edition was printed at Freiburg, at Basel (where Schott was in 1508), or, as is generally supposed, at Strasburg. Grüninger printed three later editions, dated 1508 (March), 1512, and 1515 respectively; these were altered and added to freely. Of the more genuine editions, the third is of February 1508, printed at Basel, 'industria complicum Michaelis Furterii et Joannis Scoti'. This was repeated by Furter in 1517. Thus, up to 1520 there had been four authorized and four unauthorized issues. The two remaining Latin editions, printed at Basel in 1535 and 1583, give the text as re-cast and added to by Oronce Finé, and the Italian edition of 1599 is a translation of this revised version. Professor Ferguson showed on a screen reproductions of the title-pages of all eleven editions.

The work is divided into twelve books, each dealing with one of the Sciences: (1) Grammar; (2) Dialectic; (3) Rhetoric; (4) Arithmetic; (5) Music; (6) Geometry; (7) Astronomy; (8) Principles of Natural Philosophy (*de principiis rerum naturalium*); (9) Origin of natural objects (*de origine rerum*

Margarita philosophica



1. Title-page of First Edition, 1503

Reduced from $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5$ in.

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naturalium) ; (10) Psychology ; (11) Logic ; (12) Ethics. The scope of the work is illustrated by the woodcut title-page to the first edition, which represents Knowledge—a three-headed female figure, surrounded by the seven liberal Arts, within a circle inscribed with the names of the Sciences. Outside the circle are figures of SS. Augustine, Gregory, Jerome and Ambrose, representing Theology ; Aristotle, Logic ; and Seneca, Moral Philosophy. The woodcut (*typus grammaticæ*) which precedes the text is intended to illustrate the method adopted. Nicostrata, holding a hornbook, introduces the child into the tower of learning, which has six stories. The lowest is labelled Donatus ; the second Priscianus ; the third shows portraits of Aristotle (Logic), Cicero (Rhetoric and Poetry), and Boethius (Arithmetic). The fourth story contains Pythagoras (Music), Euclid (Geometry), and Ptolemy (Astronomy). In the fifth story are seated Aristotle, as representing Physics, and Seneca as representing Ethics, while the Master of the Sentences stands for Theology on the summit. Stress was laid on the importance of the book for the light which it throws on the university curriculum of the sixteenth century, while among other points which it illustrates is the development of geographical knowledge, more particularly of the New World, as exhibited in the maps accompanying the various editions.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

1503

Margarita Philosophica

4°. The first sheet, in eight, has no signature, but the second and fourth leaves are numbered at the foot 2 and 4 respectively. The signatures begin on the second sheet and run as follows :

I, in six ; 2 to 4 in eights ; a to q in eights ; e in six ; A, B in eights ; C in four ; D to K in eights ; L, M in sixes ; aa to dd in eights ; ee in four, ff in six, the last leaf blank. 302 leaves, not numbered. The book is printed in two sizes of Roman

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type with many abbreviations. Spaces are left for the insertion of capitals at the beginning of the chapters. There are rubrics. A few Greek words appear in the text.

Collation : F. 1 Title leaf. The *verso* is blank.

2 Table of contents. After the contents is the author's account of the aim of his book.

3 *recto* Full-page woodcut : Typus Grāmāticæ.

verso Verses to G. Reisch by Adam Vuenherus Temarensis. There is no date.

4 *recto* Philosophiæ partitio—a classified scheme of knowledge, and of the arts and sciences.

verso The text begins, and ends dd ij *recto*.

dd ij *verso* The alphabetical index, in double columns, begins, and ends ff iiij *verso*, with the word *τελος*.

ff v *recto* Epigramma of Paulus Volzius dedicated to *Georgius* [*sic*] Reisch, and concluding : Chare Georgi.

Then the Colophon : Chalcographatum primicali hac/preffura, Friburgi p Ioannē Scho/ttū Ārgeñ. citra festū Margarethē/anno gratiæ M.CCCCC.III.

ff v *verso*, Full-page woodcut of the printer's device.

ff vj, blank.

Illustrations : The title-page is occupied by a woodcut (fig. 1). In the centre is a crowned three-headed winged female figure holding an open book in her right hand and a sceptre in her left. She represents the threefold philosophy (natural, rational, moral) of human affairs. Round her feet are seven other female figures with appropriate emblems denoting the seven liberal arts. These are all surrounded by a circle, on the upper half of which is inscribed : :: PHĪA TRICEPS (: NATURALIS · RATIONALIS · MORALIS · :) HVMANÆ RERV· ::

On the lower half : LOGICA RHETORICA GRAMMA^{CA} · ARITMETICA MUSICA GEOMETRIA · ASTRONO · the names of the seven arts.

The circle is enclosed in a square. At the top are the words PHĪA DĪ/VINA; in the right-hand corner are St. Augustine and St. Gregory, in the left, St. Jerome and St. Ambrose. In the lower right-hand corner is a figure labelled ARI/STO indicating PHĪA · NATVRÆ and in the other SENECA to typify PHĪA/MORA. Other full-page woodcuts are the following : Grammar, f 3 *recto* ; Logic, 4 viij *verso* [fig. 2] ; Rhetoric, d vj *recto* ; Arithmetic, f i *verso* [fig. 3] ; Music, h iij *recto* ; Astronomy, l viij *verso*, and m ij *verso* (repeated D iij *verso*) ; the celestial Sphere, m vj *verso* ; zodiacal man, p iij *recto* ; Creation of Eve, r vj *verso*, repeated with a different border, D i *verso* ; Fortune and her wheel, A vij *verso* (in this picture the left eye of Fortune is a blank) ; a halo, the milky way, a rainbow, and a comet, E ij *verso* ; internal anatomy of man, F ij *verso* ; a birth,



2. Logic. From the Edition of 1503

Reduced from $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in.

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F iijj *recto*; a diagram of the eye, G iijj *recto*; the brain, H ij *recto*; Campus Gloriæ, K vij *recto*; Loci infernales, L vj *verso*; Limbus puerorum, M ij *verso*; Schottus' device at the end. There are numerous smaller diagrams, especially in the sections on Geometry and Astronomy, to illustrate the questions discussed in the text. The cuts are well executed and are full of force and character, besides their interest as exhibiting costume, apparatus, architecture, landscape, and notions of natural history, animate and inanimate, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In the section on Music are two folding diagrams and a map of the World in the section on Astronomy.

1504 (February)

Aepitoma Omnis Phylosophiae. Ali-/as Margarita Phylo-
sophica Tractans /de omni genere scibili Cum additionibus :
Que in alijs non habentur./ [Woodcut.]

Initium sapiētię σοφια λόγος εστιν
Timor dñi εριστος.

4°. B-C in sixes; D-F in eights, ff ix-xxviii; G in eight, H in six, I in eight, K in four, L-N in eights, O in six, P-Q in eights, R in six, S-V in eights, X in six, Y-Z in eights, a in eight, b in four, c in six + 1, d-e in eights, f in six, g-h in eights, i in four, k-l in eights, m in six, n-p in eights. 287 leaves, not numbered. Two sizes of Roman type with contractions, and some florid capitals. Spaces also are left for the insertion of capitals. Rubrics.

Collation: B j Title. *Verso* Table of Contents, which ends B ij *recto*. Then follows the author's address to the 'ingenui Adolescentes'.

B ij *verso* Full-page woodcut, Typus Grāmatio [*sic*].

B iij *recto* Suo Gregorio Reisch generosi Comitis / de Zolrn alumno: Adam Vuenherus / Temarenfis. Salutem P.D. /
verso Philosophiæ Partitio.

B iiij *recto* the text begins, and ends o iij *recto*, in the middle of the page.

o iij *recto* Immediately after the text the alphabetical Index begins. It is in two columns and ends at the top of p. viij *recto*. Then follows:

Epigrāma fratris Pauli Volzij Offobur-
gij cænobitę Schutterani ex Saphi-
co & Adonico: ad reuerēdū p̄f̄z Ge-
orgiū Reisch dom^o Carthufianę ppe
Friburgum Priorem meritissimum.

consisting of four verses, and concluding erroneously 'Chare Georgi'. After this comes the Colophon:

c c

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Explicit phylofophica Margarita. Castigatione acri / In nobili Helueciorū
ciuitate Argentina Chalcogra-phatū : Per Ioannē Grūninger Ciuē Argētīnū :
ī vigilia / Mathiæ Anno incarnationis Saluatoris M.ccccc.iiij.

Valete & Plaudite.

The *verso* is blank.

Illustrations : In this edition a certain number of the illustrations are copies of those in the 1503 edition, usually of inferior execution, or copies with considerable alterations, while others are entirely new. Of this latter among the most important are the origin of the alphabets, Hebrew, Greek and Latin ; the picture of Isaiah ; Typus Musices ; Typus Geometrie, Zodiacal Man ; the principles of nature ; Fortune (who is represented without the right eye) ; the Creation of Eve and a birth. All the later illustrations of the Campus Gloriæ, loci infernales, limbus puerorum and others are omitted. Grūninger was pushing on the publication of the book so hard, that he had no time to wait for the preparation of these woodcuts.

Music plate containing two diagrams. Map of the World. My own copy wants the map and in the British Museum copy half of the map has been torn off. What remains shows that it has been a twelve head wind map, with no distinction of land and water, and with no heavy black line border.

1504 (March)

Margarita Philosophica.

4°. The first sheet, in six, has no signature, but the second, third, and fourth leaves are numbered at the foot 2, 3, and 4 respectively. The signatures begin on the second sheet and run as follows :

a to c in sixes, d to z in eights, aa to pp in eights, qq in six, rr in eight, ss in four, tt in eight. 330 leaves, not numbered.

The text is printed in two sizes of Roman type with contractions, but not so many as in the first edition. Spaces with a small letter are left for the insertion of capitals at the beginning of the chapters. There are rubrics. In this edition in the first book the rules for the declensions and conjugations are printed in black letter, and the index is also in black letter, but smaller. b iiij is misprinted bb iiij.

Collation : F [1.] Title.

verso Verses to Reisch by Adam Vuernherus Temarensis. They are dated :

Ex Heydelberga. iiij. Kt. Ianu/arias. MCCCC.lxxxxvi.

2 *recto* Table of Contents.

verso Full-page woodcut : Typus Grāmaticæ.

3 *recto* Philosophiæ partitio.

verso The text begins, and ends qq vj *verso*.

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qq vj *verso* Immediately comes the author's address to the 'ingenui Adolescentes'.

rr j *recto* The Index begins, and ends tt iiij *verso*.

tt iiij *verso* After the index comes the colophon:

Rursus exaratum puigili, noua, itēq;
secūdaria hac opera Joannis Schotti
Argentineñ. Chalcographi Ciuis: ad
17. kl Apriles Anno gratie. 1504.

Ad Lectorem.

Hoc nisi spectetur signatum nomine Schotti:

Nunq; opus exactum candide Lector emes.

tt v *recto* Verses by Theodoricus Vlsenius Phrisius on the *Margarita Philosophica*.

Ex Gymnasio Friburgeñ.

verso

In ēminentē Margaritā artificii si
tu Cyilopediā effingentē, Iacobi
Philomusi Oratoris Poetęq; lau
reati Epigramma [in 26 lines].
Vdalrici Zasij LL. Doctoris
Pæonicon. [in 20 lines].

tt vj *recto*

Epigramma frattis [*sic*] Pauli Volzij Offobur
gij cēnobitę Schutterani Sapphicę
ad auctorē Margaritę Philosophicę

with the corrected concluding line:

Reysch benedocte

Then:

Ad Lectorem

Accipe candide lector Margaritā Philosophicā ab auctore suo denuo recognitā, castigatā, sententijs & figuris nouis & auctā & illustratā: superadditis erratis quę ultimo calcographo obtutus fugere potuerunt. In qua præter alphabetum nihil de hēbreo auctor ipse immiscuit. Quod ergo in aliō impressione superadditum comperies: alienum a Margarita nostra intelligas. Vale.

Errata follow and end tt vij *recto*.

tt vij *verso* Schottus' device.

tt viij blank.

Illustrations: The title woodcut is identical with that in the 1503 edition, but a flaw runs across it from top to bottom, and the other illustrations so far as they go are also identical except the second Creation of Eve. The dotted border is omitted. In this edition some new woodcuts have been inserted, namely: Typus Geometrie; a plan of the earth showing the habitable and inhabitable parts; in the picture of Fortune both eyes are left out (!); Monstrous men; illustra-

Margarita philosophica
cū additionibus nouis ; ab auctore suo
studiosissima reuisione tertio supadditis.



Jo. Schottus Argem. lector. S.

Hanc me non perisam mendaci stigmatē / Zeros
Plumbus est auram perlege: doctus me.

Basile, 1508

4. Title-page from the Basel Edition of 1508
Reduced from $5\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in.

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tions of hail, snow, rain, with a picture of Friburg, fountains and rivers, people in a bath, the sea, an earthquake, sheet lightning, a thunderbolt, trees, birds, fishes, quadrupeds. In the woodcut of the Campus Gloriæ there is a flaw in the upper part across the two principal figures.

The two music diagrams and the map are identical with those in the first edition.

1508 (February)

Margarita philosophica / cū additionibus nouis : ab auctore suo / studiosissima reuifiōe tertio supadditis. / [Woodcut.]

Jo. Schottus Argen. lectori S.

Hanc eme, non preſſam mendaci ſtigmatē, Lector :

Pluribus aſt auctam perlege: doctus eris.

Baſileę. 1508

4°. Signatures : a to z, A to N, in eights, O, P, in sixes, Q, R in eights ; 316 leaves not numbered. The book is printed in three sizes of Gothic type with a few contractions, on firm paper. Spaces with a small letter are left for the insertion of capitals at the beginning of the chapters. There are rubrics. The title is printed in red except the woodcut, and the two lines of verse.

Collation : [a j] Title.

verso

Philesius vogesigena de laudibus

¶ fructu Margaritę philosophicę.

21 elegiac couplets, concluding with the word *τελωσ* [*sic*].

[a ij] *recto* Contents.

verso Philosophię partitio.

a iij *recto* Full-page woodcut : Typus Grāmaticę.

verso The text begins, and ends P v *verso*.

P vj *recto* Index ſumarius, ends R vj *verso* with the word *τελωσ* [*sic*].

R vij *recto* Address of the author to the 'ingenui adolescentes'.

Then :

Hoc niſi ſpectetur ſignatū noīe Schotti :

Nunq̃ opus exactū candide lector emes.

Tertio induſtria complicū Micha

elis Furterij, et Joānis Scoti

ſtudioſiſſime preſſa. Ba-

ſileę ad. 14 Kal. Mar

tias. Anno Chriſti.

1 5 0 8

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verso Verses to Reisch by Adam Wernherus temarensis [11 elegiac couplets].

Verses by Theodoricus Ulseus Phrisius.

R viij *recto* Verses by Jacobus Philomusus to the Margarita [13 elegiac couplets].
verso blank.

Illustrations: The title woodcut (fig. 4), though intended to typify the arts and sciences, does so in quite a different way from the preceding editions. Wisdom is seated on a throne with a sceptre and from her issues a tree on the leaves of which are represented the various arts with their emblems. In front of her is a group of five persons receiving from her an open book. This group is marked *turba pho*. Overhead is the Trinity and in the distance is a town, in all probability Freiburg.

It is possible that this new woodcut may have been devised to distinguish the book from the pirated edition; perhaps because the flaw in the previous woodcut had become so bad that it could be no longer used.

All the other illustrations are identical with those in Schottus' second edition with the exception of the *Baculus Jacob* which is a new one, reduced in size (*q v verso*), the bath (*C vj verso*) which is new, and the *Campus Gloriz*, which is omitted. As there was a flaw in it also, it may have become unprintable, and the absence of it confirms the reason already given for the new title.

There are the two music diagrams, and the twelve wind-head map of the world.

1508 (March)

Margarita Philosophica Nova

4°. Signatures: A in four, **A** to **E** in sixes, **F** in four, **Gh** in eight, **I** in six, **K** in four, **L** in six, M in eight, N, O, in sixes, P in four, Q to S in sixes, T, U, in eight, X in six, Y in eight, AA in eight, BB, CC, in sixes, DD to GG in eights, HH in four, II in six, KK in eight, a in six, b to f in eights, g in six, h in four, i, k in sixes, l in four, m, n in eights, o in six, p in eight, q in six, r in eight. 320 leaves, not numbered. Eames, however, points out that the first sheet A is not in four, but in six, and that A i and A vj are blank. That is probably correct; but if so the blank leaves have been cancelled both in the B.M. copy and in my own. The title and preliminary verses are in Roman type, the rest of the volume is in Gothic, of which three sizes are used. A few ornamental capitals are inserted, but in general spaces (without small letters) are left at the beginning of the sections for the insertion of capitals. There are rubrics. There are comparatively few abbreviations.

Collation: [A j] Title.

verso Vdalcrici Zasii LL. Doctoris. Incliti Studij Friburgen. Pænonicon. [20 lines.] Theodoricus Vfenij phrisij artium & medicine doctoris: oratoris poetæq[ue] laureati. De Margarita Philosophica Carmen [20 lines].

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- A ij *recto* Suo Gregorio reisch generosi comitis de zoln alumno : Adam wernherus temarensis Salutem. P.D. [22 lines].
A ij *verso* In eminentem Margaritam artificii situ Cylopediam effingentem Jacobi Philomusi Oratoris Poetęq; laureati Epigramma [26 lines].
A iij *recto* Elegiacum Petri Schotti Argentineñ. cuius argumētum est vt more aliorū artificum scholares grāt et pceptores et doctrias nobiliores [22 lines].
A iij *verso* Philesius vogesigena de laudibus & fructu Margaritę philosophicę [38 lines with the word *τελος*].
A iiij *recto* [marked A iij] Ex Arte fieri omnia meliora Carmen 1. A. [32 lines].
A iiij *verso* Epigrāma fratris pauli wolffii Offoburgii cęnobite Schutterani : Saphicum ad auctorem Margaritę philosophicę. Concluding : Reysch benedocte.

[A i] *recto* Contents title. It concludes with this Distichon :

Lector pręfixus quibus ipse paragraphus extat
Priscum pręter opus addita quęq; scias.

verso Contents.

[A ij] *recto* Woodcut Typus Grāmatio [sic].

verso Philosophiæ partitio.

A iij *recto* The text begins, and ends p ij *recto*.

p ij *verso* Address to 'ingenui adolescentes'.

p iij *recto* Angeli politiani plectio, Cui titulus Panepistemon—ends p viij *recto*.

p viij *verso* The title woodcut repeated.

q i *recto* Index, in double columns ; ends r viij *recto*.

After the Index :

Ad Lectorem presentis operis.

Accipe candide lector Margaritam Philosophicam iam denuo recognitā : castigatam & emendatam sententijs quoq; tractatibus & figuris nouis & 1 (sic)

auctam & illustratam : quā si tibi pro viatico compaueris paruo ere : habebis dubio procul rem scitu & lectu iucundam. Cuius te delectatio cōseruabit : quę studioso tibi satisfaciet advota. vt. n. margaritę ipę gemmas & lapillos pciosos : facile nitore suo candidissimo supāt : Ita et p̄sentis operis lectio multa aliorū scripta opera pręstare iudicatur. Eum quo te bene valere industrius vir Joānes Grüningerus operis excussor & optat & pręcatur. Ex Argentoraco veteri Pridie Kallendas Aprilis. Anno redemptionis n̄re octauo supra mille quingentos.

r viij *verso* is blank.

Illustrations : The title woodcut is the same as that in Grüninger's edition of 1504. The Hebrew, Latin and Greek mottoes are omitted.

Certain illustrations are new.

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x ij *verso* Six nude children with a sheet of music.

All the cuts in connexion with the tract on Architecture and Perspective.

bij *verso* Monsters, going one better than Schottus Exhalations in 1st G. edition
c ij *verso*.

d vij *recto* Birds.

d viij *verso* Beasts.

birth picture omitted.

i vj *verso* Campus glorie with the Crowning of the Virgin.

k vj *verso* Loci infernales.

l i *verso* rewards and punishments (poor woodcuts).

m j *verso* a master and pupils studying Moral Philosophy. Observe the master's left hand.

m v *verso* The wise and foolish virgins.

n i *recto* Justice.

n ij *recto* A monk (with a rosary) contemplating a catastrophic Sun.

n v *verso* A king in his splendour.

n vj *verso* ?

n viij *verso* ?

v viij *verso* a banquet.

Whether the blocks are worn or the printing is not so good, I do not know, but there is no doubt that on the whole the impressions in this edition are not so good as in Grüniger's of 1504.

I am at a loss to know what is the meaning of some of the cuts inserted at the end.

Some copied from Schottus are badly done, and without a clear understanding as to what is depicted. Compare the pictures of the birds and beasts in the two 1508 editions, and see what is made of the nest with the eggs and the porcupine!

Music plates and 4 wind head map.

1512

Margarita Phi/losophica noua cui insunt / sequentia. / Epigrammata in / cōmendationem operis. / Institutio Grammaticę Latine / Pręcepta Logices / Rhetoricę informatio / Ars Memorandi Rauennatis / Beroaldi modus cōponēdi Epi. / Arithmetica / Musica plana / Geometrie Principia. / Astronomia cum quibusdā de / Astrologia / Philosophia Naturalis / Moralis Philosophia cū figur / Argentine. 1512

4°. Signatures: A in four, B to Z, a to k in eights. 260 leaves in the book, not numbered. The first three lines of the title are in Gothic, the rest of it and

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the preliminary verses in Roman type. All the rest of the book is in Gothic type, of which three sizes are employed. Some ornamental capitals are used, but spaces (with small letters) are also left, for the insertion of capitals by hand. There is a considerable number of abbreviations and there are rubrics.

Collation : [A j] Title. The *verso* is blank.

[A ij] *recto* Elegiacum Petri Schotti Argentiñ. cuius argumētum est. vt more aliorū artificū scholares q̄rāt et p̄ceptores et doctrīas nobiliores [22 lines].
Philesivs vogesigena de laudibus et fructu Margaritę philosophicę [38 lines].
ends *verso*.

A iii *recto* Ex Arte Fieri Omnia
Meliora Carmen [32 lines].
verso Contents of the work.

A iiij *recto* Philosophie partitio.

verso Full-page woodcut : Typvs Grāmatio (*sic*).

B i *recto* The text begins, and ends i ij *verso* followed by the address to 'ingenui adolescentes'.

i iiij *recto* Index in double columns begins and ends k viij *recto*.

After the index :

Ad Lectorem presentis operis.

Accipe candide lector Margaritam Philosophicam iam denuo recognitam : castigatam & emendatam sententijs quoq; tractatib⁹ & figuris nouis et auctam & illustratam : quam si tibi pro viatico comparaueris paruo q̄re : habebis dubio procul rem scitu et lectu iucundam. Cuius te delectatio conseruabit : que studioso tibi satisfaciet ad vota. vt. n. margaritę. ipse gemmas et lapillos p̄ciosos : facile nitore suo candidissimo superant. Ita et presentis operis lectio multa aliorum scripta opera prestare iudicatur. Cum quo te bene valere industrius vir Joannes grüningerus operis excussor et optat et p̄catur. Ex Argentorato veteri pridie Kalendas Junij. Anno redemptionis nostrę duodecimo supra mille quingentos.

K viij *verso* is blank.

Illustrations : The title is surrounded by a woodcut border containing two winged cupids, scroll ornaments, insects, a dog's head in a helmet, &c. The previous woodcut does not appear in this edition. But besides it most of the illustrations introduced into Grüninger's 1504 and 1508 editions have been omitted : the origin of the Alphabets, zodiacal man, and with the exception of a bad impression of the 'loci infernales' and the small cut of 'Justice' all those enumerated under the previous edition. The Creation of Eve is different from that in the 1508 edition.

The music is on one leaf. The map is the four wind head one.

d d

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Appēdix Mathe/seos in Margaritā philosophicā/
 Sequuntur nomuatim quę ī hac / appendice complectuntur/
 Grecarū litterarū institutiones
 Hebraicarū litterarū rudimenta
 Musicæ figuratæ institutiones.
 Architecturę Et perspectiuę ru-/dimenta./
 Quadrātum varie compositiōes.
 Astrolabij noui Geographici. / compositio/
 Formatio Torqueti
 Formatio polimetri.
 Vsus et vtilitates eorūdē omniū/
 Figura quadrantis polygonalis/

4^o. Signatures : A in four, B, C in sixes, d (for D) to F in sixes, G in four, H in six, I to N in fours. 64 leaves, not numbered.

With the exception of the descriptive of the title which is in Roman, the book is in Gothic type, and not only are there at least three sizes employed but there are different founts as well. Capitals are employed but some spaces also are left. There are contractions and rubrics.

Collation : [A j] Title. *verso* blank.

A ij *recto* Institutio Greca.

B j *recto* Institutio Hebraica.

B iij *verso* Woodcut of Isaiah.

C iij *recto* Musica figurata. Woodcut of nude children with a sheet of music.

E iij *recto* Architecture et Perspectiue Rudimenta.

M j *recto* Tractatus de compositiōe Astrolabii Messahalath.

N j *recto* Declaratio speculi orbis compositi a Gualtero Lud. Canonico Deodatiensi. This includes the Canones Torqueti.

N iij *recto*. Completum est hoc opus per virum industrium Joannem / grūninger Ex Argentorato veteri Pridie Kalendas Junij. An/no redemptionis nostrę duodecimo supra mille quingentos./
verso blank.

Illustrations : The title is surrounded by the same border as that of the *Margarita*.

The woodcuts of Isaiah, the naked children, and those in the treatise on Architecture (except that of the Polimetrum, F i *recto*) have been transferred from the *Margarita* to the Appendix. The other illustrations of the Astrolabe and Torquetum are new.

1515

Margarita Phi-/osophica noua Cui annexa / sunt sequentia./
Grecarum literarū institutiones / Hebraicarū literarum
rudimēta /
Architecture rudimenta/
Quadrantū varie cōpositiōes./
Astrolabij noui geographici apō./
Formatio Torqueti./
Formatio Polimetri/
Usus ꝛ vtilitas eorundem omnium./
Figura quadrantis polygonalis/
Quadratura circuli/
Cubatio sphere /
Perspectiue phisice ꝛ positiue rudi/menta.
Cartha vniuersalis terre marisq; for/mam neoterica descri-
ptiōe indicās./

4°. Signatures: A in four; B to Z, a to K, in eights: 260 leaves, not numbered. Except the fourth and fifth lines of the title and the preliminary verses, which are in roman type, the book is in gothic, of which three sizes are employed. Ornamental capitals are abundant, but spaces also, with and without small letters, are left for the insertion of capitals by hand. There are numerous abbreviations, and there are rubrics.

Collation: [A ij] Title. The *verso* is blank.

A ij *recto* Elegiacvm Petri Schotti Argentineñ. Philesius Vosigena de laudibus
& fructu Margarite Philosophice.

Ends A ij *verso*.

A iij *recto* Ex Arte fieri omnia
Meliora Carmen

verso Contents.

A iiij *recto* Philosophie Particio.

verso Woodcut Typus Grāmatio [*sic*].

B i *recto* The text begins, and ends i ij *verso* followed by the address to 'ingenui
adolescentes'.

i iij *recto* Index Summarius, in double columns, ends K viij *recto*.

Then follows Grüninger's note:

Ad lectorem presentis operis:

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Accipe candide lector Margaritam philosophicam iam denuo recogni-/tam : castigatam et emēdatam sententijs quoq; tractatib⁹ ⁊ figuris nouis / et auctam ⁊ illustratam : quā si tibi p viatico comparaueris paruo ere : ha/bebis dubio procul rem scitu et lectu iucundam. Cuius te delectatio cōserua/bit : que studioso tibi satisfaciēt ad vota. vt. n. Margaritę ipse gēmas et la-/pillos p̄ciosos : facile nitore suo candidissimo superant. Ita ⁊ p̄sentis opis / lectio multa alioꝝ scripta opa prestare iudicat̃. Cum quo te bene valere in-/dustrius vir Joannes Grüninger operis excussor et optat ⁊ p̄catur. Ex / Argentoraco veteri Nono Kalēdas Februarias. Anno redemptionis nostrę / decimoquinto supra mille quingentos./

The *verso* is blank. The Appendix follows with a list of the Contents.

Illustrations : The title is surrounded by the same woodcut border as in the edition of 1512. The woodcuts are repetitions of those in the 1512 edition, with the exception of that of the Creation of Eve (*Y viij recto*), half of which has been altered, Typus Logice, of which a portion has been cut away so as to bring the figure to the margin, and the woodcut of Fortune which has been left out. The music diagrams are printed on one sheet. The map is that with the four wind-heads.

Appendix Ma-
theseos in Margarita phi-
losophicam.
Sequuntur nomuatim que
in hac appēdice cōplectunt̃
Grecaꝝ literarū institutiōes
Hebraicarum litterarū ru-
dimenta
Architecture rudimenta
Quadrantum varie compo-
sitiones.
Astrolabij Messahalath cō-
positio
Astrolabij noui geographi

ci compositio.
Formatio Torqueti.
Formatio polimetri.
Usus ⁊ vtilitates eorūdem
omnium.
Figura quadrātis poli
gonalis.
Quadratura circuli.
Cubatio sphere.
Perspectiue phisice ⁊ positi-
ue rudimenta
Carta vniuersalis terre ma-
risq; neotericam descriptio-
nem indicans.

4°. AB, CD in sixes, E, F in fours, G, H in sixes, I in four, K to N in sixes, O in four ; 64 leaves, not numbered. It is printed in Gothic type, of which two founts and four different sizes are employed. There are ornamental capitals, one or two spaces, numerous abbreviations and rubrics.

No collation is necessary as the Appendix is printed continuously. It may be

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noticed, however, that at the end of the article on the Torquetum, L vj *verso* there is the Colophon :

Completum est hoc opus per virū industriū Joannem / Grüniger Ex Argētoraco veteri. Decimo quarto Kalendas / Aprilis. Anno redemptionis nostre. 15. sup̄ mille quingētos. /

Illustrations : There is no border round the contents fly-title. In so far as the tracts coincide, the woodcuts in this edition are identical with those in the edition of 1512. The treatise on Music, however, has been omitted, and those on the quadrature of the circle, the cubation of the sphere, and the introduction to perspective have been added in this edition. At the end is a folding plate 'Sphera in plano'. After sig. O there is a folding sheet, marked P, measuring about 11 by 21 inches and equivalent to six leaves with five pages of text on one side and a large map on the other.

1517

Margarita / Philosophica cū / additionibus nouis: / ab auctore suo / studiosissima / reuisione / quarto / super / addi/tis / Anno domini. M.D.XVII. /

4°. Signatures : a to d in eights, e in four, f to z, A to O, in eights. 292 leaves not numbered. The last line of the title, the lines on the *verso* of the title, and the address to the 'ingenui adolescentes' are in roman type. The rest of the book is in Gothic, of which four sizes are employed. The printed title is in red except the initial M and the last line and the border which are in black. Certain words in the title to the table of contents are also in red. These are indicated by dotted brackets. Initial capitals are inserted throughout. There are rubrics, and some abbreviations.

Collation : a j *recto* The title.

verso The woodcut of knowledge or wisdom with the tree of science springing from her, which appeared in Schottus' 1508 edition. Below it are the words :

Io. Schottus Argentinen. lectori S.
Hanc eme, non pressam mendaci stigmatē, Lector :
Pluribus ast auctam perlege, doctus eris.
Basileę. M D X VII.

a ij *recto* Philesius verses, 42 in number, at the end *τελευτα*.

verso [Margarita philosophica] / totius philosophię [Rationalis : Na-/turalis
† Moralis] principia dialogice / duodecim libris doctissime cōplectēs /

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a iij *recto* Philosophie partitio.

verso Woodcut : Typus Grāmaticæ.

a iiij *recto* The text begins ; and ends M viij *recto*.

The *verso* is blank.

M j *recto* Index summarius in double columns to O vj *verso*. It has the word *telamo* and is followed by the device of Michael Furter, the printer.

N vij *recto* Ad Lectorem Auctoris Conclusio. This is the original (?) address to 'ingenui adolescentes' with the caution against unauthorized additions at the end.

verso Wernherus verses to Reisch [22 lines].

Phrisius' verses [20 lines].

N viij *recto* Philomusus' verses [26 lines].

Followed by the Colophon :

Margaritam Philosophicam nouis
characteribus dilucidatam, in-
dustria sua, ac ere proprio
Michael Furterius im-
pessit Basilee. An
no. 1517
die vero. 5
Martij.

verso blank.

Illustrations : The title is printed on a scroll inside a border consisting of figures of nude children, grotesques, medallions, &c. It is ascribed to Holbein. On the reverse is the woodcut already referred to above, which forms the title woodcut in Schottus' edition of 1508. The rest of the illustrations in this edition are repeated without alteration or omission from that of 1508. The only difference is the addition of Furter's device at the end.

The Music plates and the twelve wind-head map are contained in this edition.

1535

Marga-rita Philosophica, Rati-/onalis, Moralis philo-
phiæ princi-/pia, duodecim libris dialogice cōple-/ctens,
olim ab ipso autore recognita : / nuper aūt ab Orontio Fineo
Delphi / nate castigata & aucta, unā cum ap-/pendicibus
itidem emēdatis, & quā / plurimis additionibus & figuris, ab /
eodem insignitis. Quorū omni-/um copiosus index, uerfa /
continetur pagella. / Virefcit uulnere uirtus./

Basileæ 1535./

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4^o. a to e in eights; A to Z, aa to zz, Aa to Zz, AA to ZZ, in eights, AAa in twelves; or, pp. [80] 1498, [8]. Ten pages dropped between p. 528 (last of kk) and 539 (first of ll). The book is printed in Roman type; the rubrics are in italics. There are ornamental capitals at the beginning of each book, and large plain capitals at the beginning of each chapter.

Collation: [a 1 *recto*] Title. The *verso* contains a list of the books in the *Margarita*, not in the Appendix.

a 2 *recto*. Letter from Oronce Finé to Michael Boudet, Lingonensium Episcopopus, dated Paris, 1532. Ends a 2 *verso*.

a 3 *verso*. Two poems, which end *verso*.

a 4 *recto* 'Philosophi quomodo legendi, ex Basilio'.

a 4 *verso* 'Philosophiæ Partitio'.

a 5 *recto* Index, ends e 8 *recto*.

e 8 *verso* Woodcut: Typus Grammaticæ, from the 1503 edition.

A 1 *recto* The text begins, and ends Yy 8 *recto*, or pp. 1-1097. *verso* is blank.

Zz 1 *recto* Appendices in *Margaritam Philosophicam* begin, and end AAa 8 *verso*, pp. 1099-1498.

AAa 9 *recto* Woodcut illustrating perspective.

AAa 9 *verso*:

Finit Margarita Philosophica, iam denuo per Orontium / Fineum Delphinatem recognita, castigata, & suæ integritati restituta. Sententijs quoq; appendicibus, & figuris no/uis, & aucta & illustrata. Quam quidam famelici & incurij li/brorum impreffores, non sine maxima operis, & ipsius opifi-/cis, atq; studioforum iactura, penitus euerterant. Hanc er-/go candide lector, pro uaticio tibi comparare non graueris: /ære quidem paruo, & habebis procul dubio, rem & scitu & le/ctu iucundam, cuius te delectatio conseruabit, quæ tibi stu-/diofo satisfaciet ad uota. Vt enim Margaritæ ipfas gemmas, / & lapillos preciosos, facile suo nitore candidissimo superant: /ita & præsentis operis lectio multa, aliorum scripta opera præ/stare censetur. Cum quo quidem opere, te bene ualere, & o-/ptat & precatur, probus uir Conradus Resch bibliopola: cu-/ius sumptibus & industria, hanc castigatissimam obti-/nuit impressionem. Basileæ Anno nostræ / Redemptionis. M.D./XXXV./

AAa 10 *recto* Errata, ends *verso*, followed by the 'Chartarum series'.

AAa 11 *recto*. Colophon: Basileæ Excudebat Henricus / Petrus, ac Conradi Reschij impensis. An. / M.D. XXXV. / *verso* is blank.

AAa 12 Petri's device.

1583

Margarita Philo-/sophica, / Hoc est, / Habituum sev / Disciplinarum Omnium, / Quotquot Philosophiæ Syn-/cerioris

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ambitu continentur, perfectissima / ΚΥΚΛΟΠΑΙΔΕΙ'Α. / A'. /
F. Gregorio Reisch, Dialogismis / primū tradita : Dein ab
Orontio Finæo Delphi-/nate, Regio Parisiensi Mathematico,
necessarijs / aliquot Auctarijs locupletata. / Nunc verò
innumeris in locis restituta, in eumq; nitorem / reuocata, vt
studiosis omnibus, ad pellendam bo-/narum artium famem,
Penus loco / esse possit. / Indicem librorum frequens docebit
pagina. / Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Cæs. Maieſt. / Basileæ, /
Per Sebastianvm Hen-/ricpetri. /

4°. a, b, in eights, c in four, A to Z, aa to zz, Aa to Zz, AA to TT; all in eights; or, pp. [40] 1403, [5]. Sigs. AA and HH are in italics, by a misprint. The book is printed in Roman type; the rubrics are in italics. There are ornamental capitals at the beginning of each book, and large plain capitals at the beginning of each chapter.

Collation : [a 1] Title leaf. The *verso* contains a list of the books in the *Margarita* and in the appendix.

a 2 *recto*. Letter from Oronce Finé to Michael Boudet, Lingonensium Episcopus. Dated Paris M.D.XXIII. Ends a 3 *recto*.

a 3 *verso* Two poems. End a 4 *recto*.

a 4 *verso* 'Philosophi quomodo legendi, ex Basilio'.

a 5 *recto* 'Philosophiæ Partitio'.

a 5 *verso* Index. Ends c 3 *verso*.

c 4 *recto* Woodcut title of the first edition of 1503, omitting the title words : 'Margarita Philosophica'. It is very much worn.

c 4 *verso* Woodcut Typus Grammaticæ from the 1503 edition.

A 1 The text begins, and ends Ss 7 *verso*; or pp. 1-1022.

Ss 8 *recto* Appendices in Margaritam Philosophicam begin, and end TT 6 *recto*, pp. 1023-1402.

TT 6 *verso* Woodcut, illustrating perspective.

TT 7 *recto* The Colophon : Basileæ, / Per Sebastianum Hen-/ricpetri, Anno Salvtis. / M.D.LXXXIII. / Menſe Martio.

verso Henricpetri's device within an elaborate border.

TT 8 blank.

Illustrations.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

British Museum. *An Exultet Roll illuminated in the XIth century at the Abbey of Monte Cassino*, reproduced from Add. MS. 30337. London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1929. Portfolio, 17½×13 in., pp. 12+19 plates. 22s. 6d. net.

THIS handsome reproduction, executed in collotype by the Oxford University Press, of an *Exultet* roll written and illuminated at Monte Cassino about the middle of the second half of the eleventh century—1060 to 1090 are the limits suggested—which, after remaining in its home, it is believed, for seven centuries, was acquired by the Museum in 1877, is a fitting contribution to the recent celebration of the fourteen-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the great abbey by St. Benedict. The publication has the further and melancholy interest of being the last piece of official work carried through by Julius Parnell Gilson, late Keeper of Manuscripts and Egerton Librarian, by whose death the Museum has lost a valued servant and students a tried and trusted friend.

When did the convention of type and antitype become established in the symbolism of the Church? Its origin can, of course, be traced in the New Testament: 'as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up'—whence the Brazen Serpent came to be the type of the Crucifixion. The principle made its way early into both liturgy and art. It is found fully developed (with twofold types) in the enamel plaques executed for an altar-front at Klosterneuburg by Nicolas of Verdun in 1181. And a century earlier we find the document before us reflecting its presence in the Roman rite for Easter Eve, which in other uses is said to be as old as the days of Jerome and Augustine. The ceremony in question is 'the Blessing of the Candle which is then lighted in token of Christ's resurrection as the Light of the World, and is

EC

also taken to represent the Pillar of Fire which went before the Israelites in the Wilderness'. As part of this impressive office there was chanted a long 'prose' beginning 'Exultet iam angelica turba caelorum', and in southern Italy about the year 900 the custom was established of writing this prose with its music on a separate roll apart from the rest of the services of the day, and adorning it with illuminated pictures.

Such are the *Exultet* rolls, of which over a score from the tenth to the thirteenth century are known, and of these the one now reproduced is admittedly the finest. The text is a magnificent example of the very decorative if rather difficult Beneventan script, to which the red neumes add a relieving touch of colour and the gilt initials a heightening gleam; the large theriomorphic capitals have abundant character in their intricate design; and if it requires a rather educated taste fully to savour the artistic qualities of the illustrations, markedly Byzantine as they are in style, it is impossible to overlook the decorative value of some and the interest of others, even in their present somewhat damaged condition. The colouring, except where flesh colour has been used extensively, is on the whole pleasing, and the gold paint produces an effect of subdued magnificence that has survived the ravages of time. There is dignity as well as splendour in the *turba angelica*: and so there is in the figure of *Mater Ecclesia*, while the face of a girl in the group of worshippers on her left bears more the stamp of a human countenance than usual, and has even a touch of beauty. Then with a shock we turn to what must I suppose be meant as a type of *mater ecclesia* or possibly of *dei misericordia*—a picture of a serpent and a steer sucking at the breasts of Mother Earth. It is indeed a crude drawing devoid of artistic attraction, but it takes us back centuries at a bound, far beyond the birth of Christianity, to the kinship of things like the *trono di Venere* or some earth Kore on a Greek vase. Most interesting of all, at least from the liturgical and bibliographical points of view, are

the three pictures of scenes in a church, representing the lighting and censing of the Easter candle and the chanting of the prose in the very rite in which the roll played its part.

The fact itself that they are rolls renders these south Italian *Exultet* texts unique among Latin liturgical manuscripts. The present example consists of twelve sheets of vellum, each just over eleven inches wide and varying from sixteen to twenty-six in length, laced together to form a continuous strip.¹ The total length is twenty-two and a quarter feet, and the overlap between the sheets about half an inch. At several points traces of writing can be discerned on the overlaps, and in one place these certainly repeat some illuminated words of the text. Either therefore the writing was intended as a guide to the artist, or else it served the function of catchwords to facilitate the correct gathering of the sheets to form the roll. On the back of the roll are many traces of the wax that seems to have guttered over the lectern perhaps from the Easter candle itself as it flickered in the evening draught, though other marks suggest that this was not the only form of dirt that fouled the desks of the Abbey church.

But the feature that lends a quite peculiar bibliographical interest to our roll, and we are told to others 'of the best period', is that the illustrations are upside-down with respect to the text. The explanation, the clue to which is supplied by the pictures themselves, is that, as the deacon chanted the prose in the ambo or pulpit-lectern, the end of the gradually unfolding roll hung down over the front of the desk, and the pictures were then the right way up before the eyes of the

¹ The make-up of the roll cannot be ascertained from the reproduction, owing to the fact that certain blank spaces have been omitted between the plates. In all over twelve inches of the roll have not been reproduced at all, and these include three sutures, so that it is made to appear as though the roll consisted of nine instead of twelve sheets. This of course does not affect the artistic or textual interest of the facsimile, but it is a pity that petty economy or mere carelessness should have been allowed to impair its value as a bibliographical record.

congregation. This is of course duly explained by Mr. Gilson in his brief but valuable introduction. When, however, he comes to comment on the first plate—which, by the way, corresponds to one sheet of vellum—he writes as follows: ‘In this case alone the text is disposed in the same direction as the picture, and this part was probably unrolled by an acolyte facing the deacon, before the roll was placed upon the ambo.’ This is quite accurate, and the explanation may well be correct, but it is nevertheless a little misleading. For it might suggest that the first picture was the opposite way up from the rest, especially as the plate has been so printed. This, of course, is not the case. The picture is the same way up as the others, it is the text that is here the opposite way up from the rest.

But there is another puzzle about our roll to which Mr. Gilson does not allude, though I cannot believe that he had not both observed and solved it. As preserved to-day the roll is provided with a stick at one end on which it is wound. But the stick is attached to the wrong end! It is at the beginning, so that when one begins to unwind the roll it is the end of the text that presents itself. I should doubt whether the present stick, a rough piece of hazel with the bark still on, is very old; but the attachment appears to be ancient, if not necessarily original. This peculiarity surely calls for explanation. Now the first church-scene depicted clearly shows the roll correctly mounted: the stick or *umbilicus* is at the end, and is provided with knobs or disks to protect the edges of the roll, while the beginning has no attachment. But a thin rod at the beginning would prevent the corners from curling, and would thus be a protection when the roll was wound up; and there can be no doubt that it was with this object that the present stick or a predecessor was originally provided, for fastened to the middle of it is a woven cord intended to tie round the outside of the roll. The real *umbilicus* has presumably disappeared. Perhaps it was at some time removed for the sake of valuable ornamenta-

tion on the ends. I should like to suggest that a new one be provided—it need not be attached—and the manuscript wound from the proper end. It cannot be good for the vellum to be rolled on the present rough stick, which is not even straight, and on which the cord makes an awkward lump.

There are one or two details which deserve a word in conclusion. Commenting on the large initial of 'Vere quia dignum' the editor remarks that 'the artist of the interlacing seems to have forgotten the letters *ere*'. Probably he did, but it seems possible that unornamented letters once stood near the bottom left hand corner of the initial, where the surface of the vellum has been rubbed away just below the requisite neumes. Again, on the first picture, below which is 'Lumen Christi' thrice repeated, he notes that with these words 'the deacon lights the three candles before beginning the prose'. This may be liturgically correct—I do not pretend to know—but the introduction speaks of one candle only, and only one is shown in the three church-scenes of the roll. Moreover, if we are to connect the ceremony symbolically with Christ's words 'Ego sum lux mundi', we should naturally expect only one candle, unless indeed some reference to the Trinity was intended. In the first scene in the church we are directed to 'the deacon lighting the candle, and again standing at the ambo, with the roll hanging over the front'. Once more it may be liturgically correct that the deacon who lights the candle should also chant the prose, but it is difficult to believe that the artist intended the two figures to be the same. There is no indication elsewhere of the simultaneous presentation of consecutive scenes. The white robed figure who lights the candle seems to be the leader of the band of acolytes who is seen censuring it in the third scene, and different from the deacon in coloured garments in the ambo, who in both pictures holds up his hand in benediction towards the candle. It will be noticed that in the second scene, where a coloured figure—in this instance described as an

acolyte—is shown censing the candle, the ambo is unoccupied. Yet again, I suspect heresy in the description of the Harrowing of Hell, where we are informed that Christ ‘tramples on Death’. Surely this is bad theology as well as false iconography. The traditional figure in this scene is not Death but Satan, and it must be so here—look at his claws! Moreover it was in the Resurrection that Christ triumphed over Death: the liberation of the Patriarchs was his victory over Sin.

All bibliographers will join in congratulating the Trustees of the Museum on bringing to the notice of a wider circle of students so curious and fascinating an example of medieval book-making.

W.W.G.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to That which is to Come. By JOHN BUNYAN. Edited by JAMES BLANTON WHAREY. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1928. pp. cxiii+352. Price 21s.

PROFESSOR JAMES BLANTON WHAREY's edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* appeared opportunely during the commemoration of 1928, and is the result of immense labour coupled with all that which denotes the sincere scholar. It is an outstanding commentary on an outstanding book, and all who appreciate Bunyan must find Professor Wharey's investigations invaluable.

Others have endeavoured to present an accurate text of the world-famed Dream-story, and the name of George Offor is foremost among them. What he did, he did well; but he was handicapped through lack of material on which to establish his criticisms. So Offor's edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* for the Hanserd Knollys Society in 1847 failed in its object as being ‘accurately printed from the First Edition, with notices of all subsequent additions and alterations made by the Author’. Offor (to whom Professor Wharey pays generous tribute) based his researches on the ‘Holford’ copy, the only one at the time available: a unique volume which left our shores for

America in 1927. Recent years have, however, brought to light more data : other copies of the First as well as of subsequent editions are now accessible, and of these Professor Wharey has taken advantage with splendid results.

A halo of romance surrounds John Bunyan's masterpiece, and perhaps no other specimen of English literature so enamours the collector and bibliographer as does *The Pilgrim's Progress*. With its author a tinker and its birthplace a prison, it was the product of mature life, for Bunyan's story appeared in his fiftieth year, and, coincidentally, 1928 was not only the tercentenary of his birth but also the 250th anniversary of the licensing of the book.

The name and fame of its publisher, 'Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry near Cornhil', have come down to us and will go on to posterity through his fortunate venture in sending forth, in 1678, that small octavo volume of 232 pages, at the price of one shilling and sixpence, bound in sheep's-skin.

Prior to the issue of this book, Bunyan had employed at least five other publishers, in addition to those works which were either 'Printed for the Author', or had only the printer's name, or were 'Printed in the Year 16—'.

Why then was 'Bunyan'-Ponder (as his confreres were wont to style him) privileged to participate in the reputation of and share in the profits from the sale of the Dream-story? Most probably we think through John Owen, a former vice-chancellor of Oxford, who had brought author and publisher together, for Nathaniel Ponder had charge of Owen's publications. The Ponder family held the monopoly of issuing edition after edition for nearly twenty years, and must have financially benefited therefrom; and well may have Nathaniel Ponder, in his own 'genuine' fourth (1680) edition, condemned as Land Sharks those who issued surreptitious and spurious editions.

In describing a copy of a so-called fifth edition, Professor Wharey denounces it with its debased text as 'undoubtedly

spurious', and rightly vindicates Ponder as a publisher who could not 'possibly have had any share in issuing so disreputable a version'.

Of the popularity and phenomenal sale of *The Pilgrim's Progress* there is no doubt; for eleven editions appeared within ten years, and of the fifth and ninth there were two issues. Such an extraordinary demand led 'the unscrupulous to share in its success', and, further, to use the author's name on worthless publications as well.

Charles Doe in 1692 estimated that a hundred thousand copies of *The Pilgrim's Progress* were sold during the author's lifetime: that is in ten years; and how many since it would be vain to conjecture. No complete record has as yet been compiled, though such is contemplated. The British Museum library holds copies of numerous editions, and of the early ones from the first to the thirty-second, with the exception of the second ninth and seventeenth (1710). Of this latter only one copy has, we believe, been traced. After the thirty-second, the numbering of the editions is chaotic.

Readers of this article are, however, less concerned with historical than they are with bibliographical details and textual criticisms arising out of Professor Wharey's exhaustive examination of the various editions which he brings under review.

In his preface, he comments on some of the attempts that have been made to establish an accurate text of Bunyan's work. These began as far back as 1728, when the enterprising publisher, J. Clarke (who was in direct line of business succession to the Ponders), produced what was then considered the standard—and twenty-eighth—edition, claiming an accuracy which it did not possess. It was, however, destined to become the text of innumerable subsequent editions. It would be enlightening to discover a copy of Clarke's announcement of this 'subscription' edition which appeared in the centenary year

of Bunyan's birth, and may have been intended to celebrate it, for no other commemoration is recorded.

A hundred years later Robert Southey, considering that a correct text of Bunyan's *Progress* was desirable, undertook to revise the work from the earliest edition he could secure—the eighth, of 1682. But in his endeavour Southey failed, despite the commendation of Sir Walter Scott.

Lewis Pocock (in collaboration with George Godwin) was more successful in 1844, inasmuch as he had access to the 'Holford' first and other early editions.

Again, in 1848, Robert Philip, the enthusiastic and sympathetic biographer of Bunyan, produced the text of *The Pilgrim's Progress* 'most carefully collated with the edition containing the Author's last Additions and Corrections'; but Philip nowhere says which edition contained Bunyan's latest revisions.

In passing, mention should also be made of Dr. John Brown's voluminous writings, and also of the Bunyan entries in the 'Church' Catalogue—a work of great bibliographical value.

Seemingly, however, the task has been left to Professor Wharey—whose painstaking comparisons of editions must delight the heart of bibliographers—to produce, with a pertinacity not to be rivalled, this last and best version of Bunyan's immortal work.

Professor Wharey wisely declines to assert dogmatically which editions Bunyan personally supervised, though he considers the additions to the second and third show that they must have passed through the author's hands. The question certainly does open a wide field for speculation, for to what extent Bunyan actually revised his own work or left it to his publisher must, from lack of evidence, be pure conjecture. There were alterations no doubt (which Professor Wharey points out) made in certain copies whilst they were being printed.

It is highly improbable that Bunyan—prolific worker though he was—could have found time in the midst of his duties as

preacher and pastor to have undertaken editorial responsibilities. His writings alone monopolized more than spare time during the closing decade of his life; for in this period he prepared for publication some twenty books, including his Second Part of the Pilgrim story, *The Holy War*, and *Mr. Badman*; and he apparently set aside the *Progress* after the Third Edition in which the By-ends episode is 'the last addition of any consequence Bunyan made to the text'. Thus the Third becomes, virtually (for afterwards only minor alterations and additions occur) the first complete edition. Against this opinion, there is Offor's suggestion that the seventh 'is very probably the last edition corrected by the Author'.

In this connexion we would refer (as Professor Wharey does not do so) to Mark Rutherford's *Last Pages from a Journal*, edited by his wife in 1915, in which he says: 'In the year 1678 appeared a second edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It was considerably enlarged. One of the additions seems to have been almost immediately struck out, for only a single copy has been found which contains it.' Rutherford places but little literary value on the suppressed passage, but he gives several pages to its paraphrase or quotation, but no clue as to the whereabouts of the copy from which he makes the extracts.

Less than thirty years ago only five copies of the First edition were to be accounted for. In 1901, nearly fifteen hundred pounds was paid for a copy, and a quarter of a century later the 'Warner' copy had the sensational bid of £6,800. Since then diligent search has, no doubt, been made for 'firsts', but at present their total is within a dozen, and these are dealt with by Professor Wharey. Most of them have a sort of pedigree, being known as the 'Palmer-Nash', the 'Lenox', the 'John Rylands', the 'Pierpont Morgan', the 'Davenport-Wheeler', &c. These, as others already mentioned, are in public or private libraries; so also are those which have a more personal reminiscence, having either inscriptions or interesting ownership

attached to them, especially that which belonged to Thomas Marsom, a fellow prisoner of Bunyan, and another which was owned by John Wilson, a personal friend of Bunyan, and member of Bedford Meeting, and afterwards minister to the congregation at Hitchin.

From these 'firsts' (in which differences occur) Professor Wharey has gleaned the information he sets forth in his work, and only experienced bibliographers can appreciate the labour entailed in collating not only these but many copies of later editions.

His summarizings in regard to the relationship of the early editions—based on internal as well as on external or mechanical evidence, supported by variants—are tentative. From long and careful comparative study he deduces that the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th editions belong to a first group (the two last-named being traced to a revised text of the 3rd); and the 5th, 6th, 8th, first 9th, second 9th, 10th, and 11th, to the second group. With the exception of the seventh, all issues from the fifth onwards are marked, we are told, by degeneracy of production. Professor Wharey refers to seventeenth-century made-up copies, but he wisely disregards editions published outside England. He tells too of palpable misprints, and shows where space was economized by omissions of portions of the text; and where marginals may have been added. Some of these are colourless, whereas others are 'very distinctly tinged with the Bunyan flavour'.

To arrive at these conclusions, not only a page for page but a word for word examination between edition and edition was necessary. This has been an arduous task, but worth the labour, because Professor Wharey has gone as far as is possible until other evidence, as yet unknown, is discovered. The hope of finding any of Bunyan's manuscripts is beyond thought; but need we despair of one day coming across some of his correspondence? This would, without doubt,

throw light not only upon his writings but on other subjects too.

The Second Part of the *Progress* is as adequately dealt with as the First Part, but with Part Two the difficulty was minimized for the reason that only two editions—with a second issue of the 1686 edition—appeared before Bunyan's death, and the text underwent but little change. As Professor Wharey points out, it is somewhat significant that in his preface to the Second Part Bunyan does not mention the spurious copies of his First Part which were in circulation, though he does complain of books bearing his name of which he was not the author.

Bunyan was large-hearted and never mercenary: a fact which is substantiated by the small amount his personal property realized at his death, and his refusal of a London pulpit or of position in his own town of Bedford. 'I dwell among mine own people' was his modest excuse. His sole object in all his literary efforts was to help others spiritually, and to get their eyes fixed as his were on the Celestial City towards which he was himself fast nearing when he speeded up his output of writings in the year of his decease, 1688.

Professor Wharey introduces another 'second part' which appeared in 1682 under the authorship initials, 'T. S.' This was never claimed to be by Bunyan. The writer intended it to be rather as a 'suppliment' to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, part one. This passed through a few editions, and in 1735 it was actually bound up with Bunyan's First Part and a spurious Third Part which latter continued to be published for a century or more.

Bunyan's own Second Part came out in 1684, and though not inferior to his First Part it had evidently a slower sale, for by 1717 the tenth edition only had been reached.

Professor Wharey rightly protests against those who have deliberately tampered with Bunyan's 'English'. Perhaps no

more culpable example is to be found than that of the Welling-ton (Salop) edition of 1811, in which 'the Phraseology of the Author is somewhat improved'. The 'editor' undertook the task conscientiously, no doubt, but the result is ridiculous.

Possibly no author has suffered violence from editors and commentators more than Bunyan has done, and to get back to the original, as Professor Wharey has enabled us to do, is something to be thankful for. For he has carefully weighed his pros and cons before presenting his text of the *Progress* which accompanies his bibliographical and textual commentations; and from what has been already said it is to be inferred that his choice for the First Part fell upon the third edition, which is, undoubtedly, a just expression of Bunyan's intentions.

The annotations to and concluding notes of the two parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress* make Professor Wharey's the best, and—we say it advisedly—the only perfect edition extant.

F. M. H.

Die Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen Italiens im XV. Jahrhundert. MAX JOSEPH HUSUNG. [Die Drucker- und Buchhändlermarken des xv. Jahrhunderts, Band 4.] München, Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1929. pp. xvi + 179, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. 16 marks in paper covers, 28 marks bound.

The present writer's wish, expressed while reviewing the third volume of this series in *The Library* of September 1927, for an up-to-date conspectus of Italian devices, has now been realized by Dr. Husung's book, which within the limits of the period will certainly supersede for purposes of reference Herr Kristeller's well-known publication on the same subject dating from 1893. The latter includes the material for the first quarter of the sixteenth century and with its larger format and profusion of red printing remains the more attractive book to look at, but Dr. Husung's work is of course far more complete, while his illustrations, though monochrome, are in general quite adequately reproduced and are entirely free from touching up.

The total number of devices figured is 242—an increase of no fewer than 62 or fully 25 per cent. over those in Kristeller. This number compares with 209 French devices illustrated in Monsieur M. L. Polain's book and 120 for the rest of Europe brought together in that of Dr. Juchhoff. It is true that many of the 242 are merely variant sizes of the same design, but taking them all round there can be no doubt that the Italian devices are both more interesting and more artistically attractive than those of other countries. It is, however, rather surprising to find their field of distribution comparatively narrow. Devices were unknown in at least two-thirds of the Italian printing centres before 1501, and of the grand total of 242 no fewer than 131 are absorbed by Venice, where every kind of device, from the purely diagrammatic house-mark of the De Colonia-Jenson publishing syndicate and its numerous imitations to such finished specimens of 'Kleinkunst' as the tree-device of Bevilacqua or the St. Jerome who served as the sign over the shop of Benalius, flourished exceedingly. Next after Venice in point of numbers come Milan and its neighbour Pavia with only seventeen each, the figure for Pavia being much the higher in proportion to the total number of books; then follow Bologna and the rest. The earliest of all seems to have been the quaint female figure, presumably typifying Strasburg, found at the end of a Boccaccio printed by Riessinger at Naples in 1478, but devices do not become common for another seven years after this date.

In his short introduction Dr. Husung has wisely declined to entangle himself in symbolic interpretation, except in so far as he maintains, no doubt rightly, that the very familiar circle-and-cross design had a religious origin; the first appearances of this, by the way, seems to have taken place almost simultaneously at Lübeck and at Venice in 1481. His occasional attempts at expanding initials into mottoes rather than personal names or epithets are scarcely convincing, but it must be admitted that many of them cannot be satisfactorily explained, partly, no

doubt, because the early printers were as unsystematic in this as in dating and other practices. Seven pages of notes cater sufficiently for the expert and there are adequate indices. Dr. Husung might have been well advised to indicate the first known appearance of each device, as Monsieur Polain has done in the case of the French material; but apart from this his work leaves little to be desired, and the following comments are merely by the way. The reproduction of one of the devices of De Rubeis at Ferrara (no. 30) shows only one circle enclosing the rosette instead of the usual two: this may point to recutting. The letters AV in the device of Jenson and his 'socii' (no. 171) perhaps indicate Antonius de Valentia (see *B.M.C.*, vol. v, p. xxviii). Lastly, the very primitive coat-of-arms flanked by the letters AK—not, surely, AR—which is relegated to a place in the introduction is probably quite unconnected with Gerardus de Lisa. The anonymous legal folio in which it occurs is totally unlike his genuine work, and there are distinct differences between its text type and his small gothic, while the roman AK is not his material at all.

V. S.

William de Machlinia: the primer on vellum printed by him in London about 1484, newly found and described by GEORGE SMITH, with facsimiles of the woodcuts. London: Ellis, 29 New Bond Street, 1929. pp. 26 and 9 facsimiles. 200 copies printed.

MR. SMITH's useful and charmingly printed brochure begins unhappily with the statement that 'the discovery of a Primer printed in London by William de Machlinia, Caxton's contemporary and competitor, is a bibliographical event the importance of which it is almost impossible to exaggerate'. Mr. Smith's identification of this nearly complete copy of the Primer, when it was in the auction room, as Machlinia's, is an event of considerable importance to book-collectors, as although its existence, as he duly states, was already well known from

fragments in five different libraries (British Museum, Cambridge University, Lincoln Cathedral and New College and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford), these contained only 30 leaves in all and not one of them bore a woodcut. The newly discovered copy contains 100 out of a conjectural total of 108 leaves, and eight woodcuts, two of them within a sketchily painted border, the other six within a printed one, which also occurs surrounding text. Book-collectors rejoice in having the most complete copy of an interesting book, and the earliest example of book-illustrations in a town (in this case the City of London, as opposed to Westminster); thus for these two characteristics the book, though the woodcuts are poor things and coloured, is very desirable. But Henry Bradshaw long ago extracted its bibliographical importance from one of the fragments containing the printed border, by using it to prove that Pynson took over some of Machlinia's stock, and the discovery of this nearly complete copy will only become bibliographically exciting if the woodcuts can be used to link Machlinia with some foreign printer from whom he obtained them. The nine collotypes included in Mr. Smith's little book will be a help towards such an identification, and his summary of what is known as to Machlinia will also be useful. Two points occur to us as worth noting: (i) that the fact that of all the 30 leaves previously known not one bears a woodcut suggests that religious woodcuts had a minute selling value which decreased their use in padding bindings, and (ii) that the provenance of the book may yet be discovered. It bears an inscription 'Geo. Davenport 1648', which suggests that it may at that date have been in Cheshire, and also an earlier inscription 'New bound, 16 March 1605 Mw. L. Libr.' which tells us that in 1604 it belonged to a library of which M[atthe]w L... was librarian. Cannot a library, in the neighbourhood of Cheshire, as elsewhere, of which Matthew L... was librarian in 1605 be traced?

A. W. P.

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The objects of the Society are to print, for the use of its members, books and papers dealing with different aspects of Bibliography ; to hold meetings at which such papers are read, to form a bibliographical library, and generally to promote and encourage bibliographical research.

After being housed for thirty-seven years at 20 Hanover Square, the Society has been granted by the British Academy the privilege of meeting, as from October 1929, at its rooms in Burlington Gardens. The ordinary meetings of the Society are held at 5 p.m. on the third Mondays of the six months October to March. The Annual Meeting is held in March at the conclusion of the ordinary monthly meeting.

From May 1894 to January 1914 the Roll of British and American Members was limited to 300; it was reopened at the latter date to raise more money for publications, and now registers over 500. To meet the heavy increase in the cost of printing, the Annual Subscription was raised from One to Two Guineas as from 1 January 1921. There is also an Entrance Fee of One Guinea, on payment of which new members receive publications of the Society to about the same value.

After publishing fifteen volumes of *Transactions*, the Society, in order to print papers read before it more quickly, amalgamated its *Transactions* with the quarterly review, *The Library*, founded, as a monthly, by Sir John MacAlister in 1889. In its new form this is now published in March, June, September, and December of each year.

A list of the Publications of the Society will be found on the pages which follow. Most of the books are still in print and can be obtained by new members.

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The official address of the Society is 'at the Rooms of the British Academy, Burlington Gardens, London, W. 1.' The names and addresses of the Society's Secretaries and Treasurers are printed at the head of this memorandum. Offers of papers to be read before the Society or printed in *The Library* should be addressed to A. W. Pollard; inquiries as to British or Foreign membership to R. B. McKerrow, as to American membership to Laurence C. Wroth; all subscriptions to the appropriate Treasurer.

[September 1929]

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

THE books printed for the Society, a list of which is here given, can only be supplied to its own Members. So far as the Society's existing stock of the publications permits, Members are allowed to purchase one duplicate copy (and only one) of any book received by them in return for their subscription, and one copy of any book not so received, the Council, however, retaining the right to refuse any application without assigning a reason.

The following books cannot be supplied except as part of sets of all the publications remaining in print: *Transactions*, Vol. III; Ashbee's *Iconography of Don Quixote* (newly cased copies in clean second-hand condition); *Hand-lists of English Printers* (the complete volume); Greg's *List of Plays and Masques*. In like manner, Madan's *Chart of Oxford Printing*, Duff's *Fifteenth Century English Books*, and McKerrow's *Printers' and Publishers' Devices* are only supplied in sets of all the Illustrated Monographs still available. *Transactions*, Vols. I and II, and Proctor's *Jan van Doesborgh* are out of print.

In the absence of instructions to the contrary, the Publications of the Society are now supplied cased in a similar style to those recently issued. When a price for 'paper' is quoted they can, however, still be obtained in the original paper covers.

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Parts of *The Library*, *Supplements*, and other small paper-covered issues, one part 3d.; each additional part 2d. Small quarto volumes, one volume 9d.; each additional volume 6d. Illustrated Monographs, one volume 1s. 3d.; each additional volume 9d.

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SMALL QUARTO SERIES

[Grey wrappers or cased. Printed mostly by Blades, East & Blades, and the Oxford University Press.]

Transactions of the Bibliographical Society.
London: Printed for the Society, etc.

— Vols. I and II. 1893, 1895. [Vol. I out of print except Part iii, paper 3s. 6d. Vol. II out of print except a very few copies of Part ii, paper 5s.]

— Vol. III. 1896. [Sold in sets only, except Part ii, paper 3s. 6d.]

— Vol. IV. 1898. [Cased 10s.: paper 9s. 6d.]

— Vol. V. 1901. [Cased 10s.: paper, Part i, 5s. 6d., Part ii, 4s.]

— Vol. VI. 1903. [Cased 10s.: paper, Part i, 4s. 6d., Part ii, 5s.]

— Vols. VII to X. 1904-10. [Cased 7s. 6d. each: paper 7s.]

— Index to Vols. I-X. 1910. [Cased, with List of the Library from Vol. VIII, 4s. 6d.: paper (without List) 3s. 6d.]

— Vols. XI-XIV. 1912-19. [10s. 6d. each.]

— Vol. XV, with Index to Vols. XI-XV. [Cased, 15s.]

The Library, incorporating Transactions of the Bibliographical Society. New Series. Printed ... at the Oxford University Press, 1920, etc. Quarterly. Vols. I-IX 12s. each; single parts 4s.

Supplements to the Transactions of the Bibliographical Society 1921-26, 1926. [Cased 21s.] containing the following:

- i. Lists of Manuscripts formerly owned by Dr. John Dee, by M. R. James, 1921, 4s.
- ii. The Spanish Books in the Library of Samuel Pepys, by Stephen Gaselee, 1921, 4s.
- iii. Incunabula from the Library of George Dunn arranged in Proctor's Order by Francis Jenkinson, 1923, 4s.
- iv. A Bibliography of English Character-Books 1608-1700. By Gwendolen Murphy, 1925 [for 1924], 8s.
- v. Lists of Manuscripts formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library. By M. R. James, 1926, 4s.

Hand-lists of Books Printed by London Printers, 1501-56, 1895-1913. [Cased, £1 10s., sold only in sets: paper, Parts ii and iii, 4s. 6d. each; Part iv, 7s. 6d. There are no separate copies of Part i.]

The four parts of this work were issued under the temporary title 'Hand-lists of English Printers'.

Robert Wyer, Printer and Bookseller. A paper read before the Bibliographical Society, January 21st, 1895. By Henry R. Plomer. *London: Printed, etc.*, November 1897. [Cased 5s.: paper 4s. 6d.]

A Classified Index to the Serapeum. By R. Proctor. *London: Printed, etc.*, November 1897. [Cased 10s.: paper 9s. 6d.]

An Index to Dibdin's Edition of the Typographical Antiquities first compiled by Joseph Ames, with some references to the intermediate edition by William Herbert. Printed from a copy in the Library of Sion College. *London: Printed, etc.*, December 1899. [Cased 4s.: paper 3s. 6d.]

A List of English Plays, written before 1643, and printed before 1700. By W. W. Greg. *London: Printed, etc.*, March 1900, for 1899. [Out of print.]

A List of Masques, Pageants, etc. Supplementary to a List of English Plays. By W. W. Greg. *London: Printed, etc.*, February 1902, for 1901. [Paper 10s.: not sold cased.]

Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers, from 1492 to 1650. By Henry R. Plomer. *London: Printed, etc.*, February 1903. [Cased 3s. 6d.: paper 3s.]

A Century of the English Book Trade. Short notices of all printers, stationers, book-binders and others connected with it, 1457-1557. By E. Gordon Duff. *London: Printed, etc.*, 1905. [Cased 25s.]

A Short Catalogue of English Books in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, printed before 1641. By Newport J. D. White, D.D. *Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press*, September 1905. [Cased 5s. 6d.: paper 5s.]

Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period. Being an index to those whose names occur in the returns of aliens, letters of denization, and other documents published by the Huguenot Society. With notes by Ernest James Worman. *London: Printed, etc.*, December 1906. [Cased 4s.: paper 3s. 6d.]

Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Binders, Printers and Stationers of Oxford, from 1493 to 1638. By Strickland Gibson. *London: Printed, etc.*, February 1907. [Cased 4s.: paper 3s. 6d.]

A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers at work in England, Scotland and Ireland, from 1641 to 1667. By H. R. Plomer. *London: Printed, etc.*, 1907. [Cased 8s.: paper 7s. 6d.]

A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640. Edited by R. B. McKerrow. *London: Printed, etc.*, 1910. [Cased 15s.: paper 14s. 6d.]

List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641. By Henrietta R. Palmer. With an introduction by Victor Schoderer. *London: Printed, etc.*, December 1911. [Cased 10s.: paper 9s. 6d.]

A List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740. By Arundell Esdaile. *London: Printed, etc.*, December 1912. [Cased 15s.]

A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. By Thomas J. Wise. *London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society by Richard Clay and Sons, Ltd., 1913.* [Cased 21s.]

A forty-page Supplement of 'Coleridgeiana', presented to the Society by Mr. T. J. Wise, was issued to Members in 1920. Supplied only with the volume.

A Hand-list of English Books in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, printed before MDCXLI. *Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Cambridge University Press, 1915.* [Cased 5s.]

Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Printers, Binders, and Stationers of Cambridge, from 1504 to 1699. By George J. Gray and William Mortlock Palmer, M.D. *London: Printed, etc., 1915.* [Cased 5s.]

A Register of Middle-English Religious and Didactic Verse. By Professor Carleton Brown. Two volumes. *Oxford. Printed . . . at the University Press, 1916-20.* [Cased 42s.]

The volumes are not sold separately except that Members who joined the Society in the years 1917-20 may obtain Vol. I on payment of 21s.

The Society holds a few copies of this book for sale to non-members in America and the Continent of Europe at 60s. for the two volumes.

A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Walter Savage Landor. By Thomas James Wise and Stephen Wheeler. *London, printed, etc., 1919.* [Cased 21s.]

A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725, by Henry R. Plomer. Edited by Arundell Esdaile. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, 1922* [for 1921]. [Cased 21s.]

A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of George Meredith, by Maurice Buxton Forman. *Printed . . . at the Dunedin Press, Edinburgh, 1922.* [Sold only together with the following]

Meredithiana: being a Supplement to the Bibliography of Meredith, by Maurice Buxton Forman. *Printed . . . at the Dunedin Press, Edinburgh, 1925* [for 1924]. [Cased 42s. the two volumes.]

The two books can only be supplied separately (at 21s. each) to those Members who already have one volume and desire to complete the set. *This must be stated in the application.*

[temporary title] A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726-1775. By Henry R. Plomer, G. H. Bushnell, and E. R. McC. Dix. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, 1929* [for 1927]. [In the Press.] [Cased 21s.]

LARGE QUARTO SERIES

Printed at the Oxford University Press.

A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed abroad 1475-1640. Compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 1926. [Cased 42s.]

[temporary title] Court Records of the Stationers' Company 1576-1603. Edited by W. W. Greg, 1929 [for 1928]. [In the Press.] [Cased 21s.]

ILLUSTRATED MONOGRAPHS

Large 4to. Cased. No. III printed at Aberdeen, the others either at the Chiswick Press, London, or the Oxford University Press.

Monographs Nos. I, IV-XI, and XIII-XV can still be supplied in the original brown wrappers at the same price as the cased copies.

- I.—Erhard Ratdolt and his work at Venice. A paper read before the Bibliographical Society, November 20th, 1893, by Gilbert R. Redgrave. *London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society, at the Chiswick Press, April 1894.*

A four-page Supplement, with an additional illustration, reproducing Ratdolt's Trade-List, on a separate leaf, was issued in 1895.

Reprinted December 1899. [Cased 15s.]

- II.—Jan van Doesborgh, Printer at Antwerp. An essay in bibliography. By Robert Proctor. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, December 1894.* [Out of print.]

- III.—An Iconography of Don Quixote, 1605-1895. By H. S. Ashbee, F.S.A. *Printed for the Author, at the University Press, Aberdeen, and issued by the Bibliographical Society, July 1895.* [Out of print.]

A very few copies in clean second-hand condition, newly cased, are for sale in sets of the publications remaining in print.

A four-page list of 'Corrections, Additions, Omissions', with a note on the engravings, on a separate leaf, was issued to Members applying for it, in 1898.

- IV.—The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal. By Konrad Haebler. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, March 1897, for 1896.* [Cased 21s.]

- V.—The Chevalier Delibéré. By Olivier de la Marche. The illustrations of the edition of Schiedam reproduced with a preface by F. Lippmann, and a reprint of the text. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, February 1898, for 1897.* [Cased 15s.]

- VI.—The First Paris Press. An account of the books printed for G. Fichet and J. Heynlin in the Sorbonne, 1470-72. By A. Claudin. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, February 1898, for 1897.* [Cased 15s.]

- VII.—Antoine Vêrard. By John Macfarlane. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, September 1900, for 1899.* [Cased 21s.]

- VIII.—The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century. By Robert Proctor. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, December 1900.* [Cased 25s.]

- IX.—A Book bound for Mary Queen of Scots, being a description of the binding of a copy of the Geographia of Ptolemy printed at Rome, 1490, with notes of other books bearing Queen Mary's insignia. By George F. Barwick. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, June 1901.* [Cased 15s.]

- X.—Early Oxford Bindings. By Strickland Gibson. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, January 1903.* [Cased 21s.]

- XI.—The Earliest English Music Printing: a description and bibliography of English printed music to the close of the sixteenth century. By Robert Steele. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, December 1903.* [Cased 21s.]

- XII.—A Chart of Oxford Printing, '1468'-1900. With notes and illustrations. By Falconer Madan. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, February 1904.* [Sold only in sets of the Illustrated Monographs.]

- XIII.—The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders, and the first Cambridge Printer. By George J. Gray. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, October 1904.* [Cased 21s.]

- XIV.—The Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose. By F. W. Bourdillon. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, December 1906.* [Cased 21s.]

A four-page Supplementary Note on 'A Vêrard Fragment of the Roman de La Rose', with four additional pages of facsimiles, was issued with Monograph XVI in 1913.

XV.—A Census of Caxtons. By Seymour de Ricci. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, 1909.* [Cased 21s.]

XVI.—Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640. By Ronald B. McKerrow. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, 1913.* [Sold only in sets of the Illustrated Monographs.]

XVII.—English Printed Almanacs and Prognostications: a bibliographical history to the year 1600. By Eustace F. Bosanquet. *London: Printed . . . at the Chiswick Press, 1917.* [Cased 21s.]

XVIII.—Fifteenth Century English Books:

a bibliography of books and documents printed in England and of books for the English market printed abroad. By E. Gordon Duff. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, 1917.* [Sold only in sets of the Illustrated Monographs.]

XIX.—Incunabula Medica: a Study of the Earliest Printed Medical Books, 1467-1480. By Sir William Osler. *Printed . . . at the Oxford University Press, 1923.* [Cased 50s.]

XX.—Early Editions of Euclid's Elements. By Charles Thomas-Stanford. *Printed at the Oxford University Press, 1926* [for 1925]. [Cased 21s.]

FACSIMILES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Large 4to. Printed at the Oxford University Press.

I.—German Renaissance Title-Borders. Selected by Alfred Forbes Johnson, 1929 [for 1927]. [Cased 25s.]

II.—[*temporary title*] Printing Types used in England 1501-1534. By F. S. Isaac, 1929 [for 1928]. [*In the Press.*] [Cased 21s.]

NOTE.—A few extra copies were struck off of Mr. Reed's 'List of Books and Papers on Printers and Printing' (*Transactions*, Vol. 3) and of Mr. Gray's 'William Pickering' (*Transactions*, Vol. 4). Price in each case, 2s. 6d. in paper. Extra copies of certain papers have also been printed for presentation to their authors or for gratuitous distribution; but neither these extra copies, nor the *News Sheet*—everything of permanent interest in which was reprinted in the *Transactions*—are reckoned as necessary to a complete set of the Society's Publications.

Members are requested to note that the *News Sheet*, which formerly appeared five times annually and contained a report of the meetings and the agenda of future ones, is no longer issued.

A few copies of Mr. G. J. Gray's 'Bibliography of the Works of Sir Isaac Newton', second edition, *Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1907* (5s.), and of Messrs. A. T. Bartholomew and J. W. Clark's 'Richard Bentley, D.D.: A Bibliography', *Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1908* (7s. 6d.), which were issued as extra publications, are to be obtained by members of the Society at the prices mentioned.

Cases may be obtained for binding those publications which were originally issued in paper covers, with the exception of the 'List of Masques' and 'Coleridgeiana'; price 1s. each for the Small Quarto Series and 1s. 6d. each for the Illustrated Monographs. On each order, whether for one or for several cases, an additional charge is made, for packing and postage, of 6d. for the Small Quarto size and 9d. for the Illustrated Monograph size (on mixed parcels the charge is 1s.). Cases for binding four or five of the 'Supplements' to the *Transactions* together will be issued to Members from time to time. That for Supplements 1-5 was issued in 1926. Members may have their unbound publications cased in the Society's cases at the University Press, Oxford. For prices, &c., application should be made direct to the Printer to the University.

Binding-cases for members' copies of *The Library* are supplied free of charge with the June number of the succeeding volume. Cases for non-members copies are supplied by Mr. Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, E.C., but the lettering on these differs from that of the Society's cases in not including the words 'Transactions of the Bibliographical Society'. Members who have subscribed to 'The Library' or bought bound volumes before joining the Society and who wish to keep their sets uniform should therefore obtain binding-cases from Mr. Milford.

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